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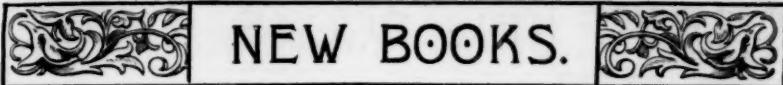
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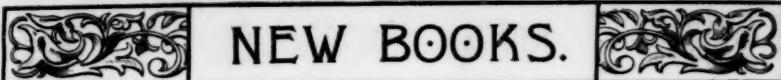
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THE CHURCH REVIEW, For 1891.

The Church Review will be published quarterly during 1891, in the months of January, April, July, and October.

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WE are willing to receive subscriptions from those to whom it is inconvenient to pay annually in advance, at the annual rate payable quarterly in advance, provided that they agree to take the four quarterly numbers for 1891, and pay for them respectively in December, 1890, and March, June, and September, 1891. After much serious thought over the matter, we have decided not to send out a copy of the REVIEW until it has been paid for. We have a large number of subscribers on our list this year, who signed an order whereby they agreed to pay for each number upon its receipt. Some have been true to their promise, but others have not, and have not paid for a single copy, and have complained when a bill has been sent to them. Our experience has been like that of other publishers; namely, that it costs more to collect an old subscription than to get a new one; besides, the old subscriber will often feel that he has been badly treated, and give up his subscription. We have unpaid subscription accounts dating as far back as 1882. We do not remember ever having had any trouble with a subscriber who paid regularly in advance. These are our reasons for making this rule which we must strictly adhere to. Each copy of the REVIEW represents a certain amount of money that *has been expended* on its publication.

The cloth-bound copies are, whenever possible, sent by express; charges to destination prepaid at printed-matter rates. We prefer to send the copies by express, because they carry better than by mail. Should any local agent at point of destination make a demand for transportation, the subscriber will please pay the amount charged, taking his receipt for the amount paid, and we will on receiving such receipt remit the amount to the subscriber, and collect from the express company from whom we hold a receipt showing that we prepaid the charges to destination.

Notice of change of address must be sent during the month preceding that of publication, and a postal will be returned acknowledging its receipt. If such acknowledgment is not received from us, the subscriber should again send change of address, for our failure to acknowledge receipt will indicate that we have not received the order for change of address.

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I and 3 Union Square, New York.

The Church Review.

What the Press has said about the Church Review.

THE CHURCH REVIEW for April contains twenty responses to the proposition of the Lambeth Conference on the basis for possible Christian reunion. . . . It is a remarkable collection of thorough papers, worthy of being purchased and read by all progressive students of current Christianity. Its perusal confirms us in the opinion which we have long held, — that organic union is impossible. — *The Christian Advocate*.

The enterprising Editor of the CHURCH REVIEW, the Rev. Henry Mason Baum, tells us in the opening words of the April number, 'We thought it would be not only a courteous act, but that it was due to representative men of the chief Protestant Communions in this country, to offer them an opportunity to say in the pages of the CHURCH REVIEW how far they were willing to accept the basis for Church Reunion proposed by the Lambeth Conference.' . . . The REVIEW then gives, upon about one hundred and forty of its fine large pages, the views of twenty well-known clergymen of different denominations. These communications are the simple views of the individuals that wrote them, and none of the writers takes it upon himself to speak for any one but himself. The articles vary in size, from that of Prof. Charles A. Briggs, which covers thirty pages, to those of a page or a little over. All the writers express themselves with the utmost candor and courtesy, and it is exceedingly interesting to read what these men of different denominations have to say upon the proposed basis of union. Although they do not speak with authority, and as representatives of their respective bodies, there can be little doubt that they correctly voice the prevailing sentiments of the Churches or 'Christian bodies' to which they belong. If we are correct in this opinion, this symposium in the CHURCH REVIEW shows, as clearly as anything can, that the Reunion, or Union of Christendom, on the proposed basis, is not likely to take place. . . . These extracts show where these Lutherans of the United Synod of the South, of the General Council, and of the General Synod, stand. We commend these one hundred pages of the CHURCH REVIEW as very interesting reading, and hope that its enterprising Editor will publish in a separate volume, not only these independent utterances of men of different denominations, but also the replies of the 'representative Bishops and Priests of the English and American Churches,' which are to appear in the October issue. — *The Lutheran* (Philadelphia).

The CHURCH REVIEW, Quarterly, April, demands more than a passing recognition. Mr. Baum has certainly achieved a commanding position, and the REVIEW challenges respectful consideration among the numerous publications of its class. Quite one half, one hundred and forty-four pages, is given up to a brilliant symposium on Christian Reunion, on the basis of the Lambeth Conference. The documentary history of the movement very properly appears as a *prologomena*, followed by contributions from twenty representative theologians of the various denominations, — Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Baptist, Methodist, Reformed, and Lutheran. . . . The result, while it demonstrates the literary enterprise of the Editor, must be accepted as a humiliating and depressing exhibit of the futility of the project so charitably broached by Church authorities. As our best thinkers have long foreseen, such a 'reunion,' while generally conceded to be desirable, and to be cherished as a possible realization of our Blessed LORD's own supplications, as yet must be regarded as an ideal lying far in the future. There is a great deal of 'human nature' developed, and certain of the contributors have treated their literary hospitality with singular rudeness. Dr. John Hall fills his nearly two pages with queries bristling with badly concealed irony and contempt. Glimpses of similar acerbities are encountered elsewhere. In the main, however, the replies are creditable to the intelligence and spiritual integrity of the writers. Drs. Briggs, Smyth, Van Dyke, of Brooklyn, and Lyman Abbott, will be read with more than respectful interest. Of course we encounter the 'Baptistery,' and the 'Parochial' or 'Presbytero-Episcopate,' with samples of Lutheran and Methodistic myopia, all of which was to have been expected. — *The Living Church*.



The Church Review.



... The CHURCH REVIEW represents the High-Church views of the American Episcopalians, and is always scholarly, high-minded, and polished, whether it discusses marriage with a deceased wife's sister, the 'Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,' or Mr. Howells' *Silas Lapham*. — *The Beacon* (Boston).

... While this REVIEW does not seek its topics for discussion, to any extent, outside of the Episcopalian fold, it is rapidly gaining an excellent reputation as the channel through which some of the strongest men in the Church are speaking their minds on the religious questions which are an expression of its active life. — *Boston Herald*.

The current number of the CHURCH REVIEW, which occupies in America a position corresponding to *The Church Quarterly Review* in our own country . . . contains nine well-written articles, the chief of which are, — one on 'Liturgical Colors,' a criticism of Mr. St. John Hope's paper thereon, and pleading for American national colors; an extremely interesting account of 'King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia,' and of the 'Religious History of Mexico'; a somewhat fanciful defence, on Old Testament grounds, of the Eastward Position; and a comprehensive though unfriendly review of *Lux Mundi*. The lesser reviews and notices of books are very well done, and there are some interesting notes on 'The Music of the Church,' especially 'Anthems for the Christian Year.' — *Church Bells* (London).

The CHURCH REVIEW, under the editorship of the Rev. Henry Mason Baum, takes a first place among publications of its kind. Its discussions of religious, social, and philosophical questions from the point of view of the Protestant Episcopalian Church, are able, and both sides of questions in controversy at present are allowed a hearing. It ought to obtain a liberal patronage from Churchmen and scholars. — *The Central Christian Advocate* (St. Louis).

We think we hazard little in saying that in make-up and appearance, in the scope and character of its articles, in the life and energy that pervades its pages, in its independence and outspokenness, it has no equal, not to say superior, in the long line of its predecessors. We are glad if there is a constituency that calls for such a publication; if there is not now, we believe its merits will soon create one. — *The Churchman* (New York).

The CHURCH REVIEW has struck the keynote of the time in admitting into its pages the different schools of thought which are represented in the Episcopal Church by the terms High, Low, and Broad. Mr. Baum has succeeded in enlisting the services of men who cannot afford to put their name to anything which falls short of the best they can do, — men whose words are always entitled to weight, — and in allowing full and free expression to parties who take opposite sides on important subjects, has not only increased the value of their articles, but widened the circle of his readers. Fifty pages of carefully written book notices complete a very remarkable number of this REVIEW. — *New York Times*.

This always valuable REVIEW is rendered still more desirable by a series of articles on . . . We cannot praise too highly this able REVIEW, and wish it could be brought within the reach of all our clergy. — *Church Guardian* (Canada).

The scholarship and good judgment of the Editor, the reputation throughout the Church of the contributors, and the excellent work of the publishers, say more in praise of this Church and Churchly periodical than a column by the reviewer. — *The Church Kalendar*.

Our Episcopalian friends ought to be proud of their CHURCH REVIEW, and give to it a hearty and generous support. The issue for the first quarter of 1889 contains nearly three hundred and fifty pages of reading matter, — a goodly volume in itself. Some of the ablest men in the Episcopal Church contribute to its pages, their articles dealing with many different phases of Church life and doctrine. — *The Interior*.

The Church Review.

The CHURCH REVIEW for October is a number of even exceptional excellence and charm, its most important paper being a . . . The REVIEW is one of the ablest of the theological and philosophic magazines — *Boston Evening Traveller*.

The CHURCH REVIEW for October is an unusually interesting number. This excellent periodical should be widely circulated. Every issue presents some topic of stirring interest for thoughtful consideration. — *Evangelical Churchman* (Canada).

We cannot too highly commend both the form and substance of the CHURCH REVIEW as recently remodelled. With the October issue closes the — year of the Rev. Henry Mason Baum's editorial management, and during that period it has passed from stage to stage of improvement till now there is no magazine or review of its kind comparable with it for comprehensive ability, for beauty of appearance, and for the excellence of its paper and type. . . . Altogether the CHURCH REVIEW is worthy of the high praise that it has received in so many quarters. We wish it continued success. — *The Gazette* (Montreal).

There is no quarterly which sticks to its own line of business with more honest determination than the CHURCH REVIEW. . . . It does its work on a high plane. The Editor is not afraid of forty pages, and the writers do their work thoroughly and write themselves out. The January number contains a series of remarkably solid papers, which are both valuable in themselves and as showing the state of opinion inside the Episcopal Church. . . . It is the handsomest Review published in this country, and we remember nothing to surpass its rich, open type and fine execution anywhere. — *The Independent*.

We feel inclined to give this REVIEW as strong a commendation as possible. It is not in any sense a newspaper. It is distinctly a review of such topics in the Christian and literary world as will be most likely to interest intelligent Church people. We do not hesitate to say that the July number is the peer of any quarterly published in our language. — *Pacific Churchman*.

Mr. Baum is to be congratulated on this issue of the REVIEW, presenting, as it does, the same scholarly and attractive characteristics as formerly. . . . There is much other attractive matter in this ample and ably-conducted quarterly we have not space to mention. — *Episcopal Recorder*.

This fine-looking quarterly is on time, and presents a table of sixteen articles, besides book reviews. This number is marked by freedom of discussion, and the taste and the Churchmanship that cannot find something with which to be pleased in the very table of contents, must be hard to suit. . . . There are other articles by distinguished men, worthy of attention and study, but we shall pass these by at this time, to speak of. . . . It will thus be seen that the contents are varied and important, worthy also of the attention of every intelligent reader. — *Standard of the Cross and the Church*.

Three months are a long while to wait for a budget so good as this admirable periodical always brings us. . . . We can assure those who have had no experience with the REVIEW that its contents consists of the thoughts of some of our best and most practical scholars. This able REVIEW leaves American Churchmen nothing to want in its sphere. The Editor and publishers have set themselves the task to furnish a magazine not to be outdone in the field of periodical literature. We hope they are receiving the encouragement they deserve. — *The Church Messenger*.

. . . We wish more of our laymen read the REVIEW. It would do them far more good than the Sunday newspaper. — *The Church News* (St. Louis).

It is useless to say what a splendid feast is here spread, and while we might find ourselves disagreeing with some utterances, this is small matter, for there is much to agree with. As we said before, we congratulate the accomplished Editor in giving this Church so able a Review, one more worthy of it than any other that has yet appeared. — *Southern Churchman*.

The Church Review.

... This is one of the most useful and helpful documents that has appeared in a long time. The several writers speak their minds and have something to say. These are the principal papers in the number, and they have such importance that no one can belong to the Episcopal Church and take a real interest in its affairs who neglects them. — *Boston Herald*.

The CHURCH REVIEW for October is before us, — a valuable number, and conducted with much ability. . . . This is a free and independent journal, which handles all subjects with much impartiality. — *Christian Leader* (Cincinnati).

... This REVIEW is thoroughly scholarly, of a high character, and well edited. — *The Western Christian Advocate* (Cincinnati).

... It is scholarly, varied, conservative, and critical. . . . The Book Reviews are able and critical. — *Zion's Herald* (Boston).

... The department of Contemporary Literature is full and excellent. — *The Lowell Daily Courier*.

The CHURCH REVIEW for . . . is an excellent number of a periodical which steadily increases in efficiency. . . . Rev. Henry Mason Baum is editing the CHURCH REVIEW with good judgment and discretion. — *The American* (Philadelphia).

Mr. Baum deserves the thanks of the Church for his success in bringing out a Review so creditable in scholarly ability. The Church needs such a periodical where subjects of importance can be treated thoroughly and exhaustively, as they cannot possibly be in a weekly newspaper. — *The Guardian*.

... For Churchmen this is the magazine *par excellence*, and we feel sure it only requires to be known to secure hearty recognition in Canada. — *The Gazette* (Montreal).

... Its typographical dress is probably not surpassed by any similar publication in this country. The profound scholarship, clear thinking, marked literary excellence of this number is, we hope, a forerunner of what will follow. — *Boston Evening Transcript*.

... The department of Contemporary Literature contains some timely and valuable discussions, and altogether the number presents to readers as good religious thought as there is current. — *Public Opinion* (Washington).

The CHURCH REVIEW undoubtedly stands at the head of Church periodical literature, and it is invaluable to the individual and an honor to the Church. . . . It is a thoughtful, comprehensive, and readable quarterly. — *Tribune-Republican*.

The Church in the United States should feel proud of the appearance of the January number of this most valuable REVIEW . . . which quite equals, if in some particulars it does not surpass, its English contemporaries, etc. — *The Guardian* (London).

Last but not least among many commendations is the following: —

At the General Convention held in Philadelphia, October, 1883, the REVIEW received the commendation of all the American Bishops present (fifty-nine) over their signatures, and from which the following extract is taken: —

It is of pre-eminent importance that the Church shall have a literature to express its best thought, and to stimulate its mental activity. It is a matter of duty as well as of pardonable pride to make this literature as good as possible, and at least to keep it up to the average standard of the age.

At the head of our current literature stands the CHURCH REVIEW. During the last few years, and under its present editorship, it has won a deservedly high place among all similar publications in the country. It is as comprehensive in its tone as the Church itself. All schools of thought that may lawfully claim recognition are welcome to its pages. The most vital questions of the day have been discussed by it with dignity, learning, and commanding ability. The field it occupies, intellectually considered, could not be allowed to become vacant without inflicting a stigma on the character and culture of our Church.

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Preface.

IN this volume is completed what must be regarded as the most notable and important religious discussion that has taken place since the Reformation. To have reached a clear and definite understanding as to the basis on which there can be Church Reunion between the Anglican Communion on the one hand and the Protestant Communions on the other, is a matter not only for congratulation on our part, but of the greatest importance to American Christianity. The fact that the discussion presents radical differences that on the surface seem irreconcilable, does not matter. There have been alliances, newspaper and pulpit discussions on the subject, but the exact points of agreement as well as disagreement have never been made clear. Protestants, as we saw in the April issue, have accused the Anglicans of disagreeing among themselves on the fundamental principles of Church polity and order.

The eleven writers in the present issue agree in every particular on all the great questions at issue. They have answered or replied to every question raised by the writers in the April issue; and there can be no doubt to-day as to the position of the Anglican Communion and the various Protestant Communions on the question of Church Reunion.

Some of our American clergy doubtless will be surprised to learn from the distinguished Professor of Canon Law in the Philadelphia Divinity School, Dr. Garrison, that the inviting of ministers of the Protestant Churches into their pulpits, whether for Lenten Lectures or other services, is a violation of the law of the Church, and consequently a breach of their ordination vows, and that the offence is no less when they have the compliment returned, and they assist in Protestant services. No other question than one of law can be considered here. We have not reached the point where Church Reunion begins, and until we have, a man not having received Episcopal ordination can only officiate as a layman in a congregation convened

for public worship according to the rites and ceremonies of the Anglican Communion or in one of its consecrated buildings.

Again, this discussion has made it impossible for any Bishop, Priest, or layman of the Anglican Communion to say that the term "Historic Episcopate" does not mean what is generally known in the Church, and out of it, as Apostolic Succession. Nor do we believe that any writer in the future will quote the late Bishop Lightfoot as holding any other theory than that of Apostolic Succession.

We have given up a large amount of space for the purpose of showing that the Church of England never recognized any other than Episcopal ordination. Protestant writers have frequently asserted that the exclusive validity of Episcopal ordination was a view advanced by some individuals in the Church and not by the Church of England herself, and that therefore if the Church of England had not, especially during the Reformation period, held that view, the American Church could not be committed to it, since she declares she has no intention of departing in matters of doctrine from the Mother Church. Mr. Lowndes has indisputably proved, by a long chain of official facts, that the Church of England did officially teach and maintain the exclusive validity of Episcopal ordination, and has rendered it impossible for any one logically to assert the contrary. Wherever men not Episcopally ordained were found in cures, they were proceeded against and evicted.

The Christian people of the Western world have outgrown the desire for religious persecution, save possibly a few in the Roman Communion. The contest of the future must be waged by the intellectual leaders of the age, by a direct appeal, not to historians, but to history. During the present decade the lines upon which historical research must be made have been clearly laid down. There pervades American Christianity to-day a desire for a calm and dispassionate examination of the first and pure ages of Christianity. The Anglican Church has nothing to fear from a searching examination of the past; and as shown in this preliminary discussion, she is not lacking in men who are able to defend her. With her quarterly **CHURCH REVIEW** nearly half a century old, and now the largest in the world, and a weekly press for ephemeral discussions equal to that of any other religious body in the country, she is fully equipped for the combat.

During the past five years there have been founded in England and this country several quarterly reviews in the departments of Religion, Social Economics, Political Economy, and Law, showing that we are entering upon a period in which the great questions of the times will be examined at length by the profound scholars of the age. This it has been found can only be done in the quarterly that will admit of exhaustive discussion. Most of the articles or essays in the monthly magazines of the day are nothing more than newspaper editorials. We remember being told by one of the most eminent scholars among the American Bishops, that the late Mr. Thorndike Rice, Editor of the *North American Review*, invited him to write an article on a certain subject, and said that he could have the usual space,—eight pages, or three thousand words. The Bishop's reply was, that he would as soon think of starting for Liverpool in a row-boat as of treating the subject within the limits assigned him. But not only have the intellectual leaders of the age become convinced that the quarterly must be their medium for the discussion of important questions, but busy laymen have become dissatisfied with the ephemeral treatment of questions in the daily and weekly newspapers and monthly magazines. It is true that these mediums are largely read, but not by the intellectual readers and thinkers among the clergy and laity. This has been manifested, to a surprising degree, in the case of the *CHURCH REVIEW* during the past two years. The clergy and laity who are satisfied with a superficial treatment of the topics of the times have gradually dropped from the ranks of its subscribers, while those wishing to devote the little time at their disposal to a profound study of the same questions, have joined the ranks of its subscribers and have encouraged us to raise the standard to the highest level of literary criticism and scholarship; and this class is rapidly increasing.

It is therefore with sincere thankfulness to Almighty GOD that we bring the first ten years of our work to a close. They have been ten years of hard and bitter struggle with financial problems. Churchmen who had the ability to appreciate the need of such a periodical did not have the means to aid us, and those who had money were not intellectually able to appreciate anything beyond a daily or weekly newspaper. Ten years ago there were many of our clergy who cared for no periodical literature beyond the weekly paper. There are

many clergymen now who, if they can only take one periodical, make that one the CHURCH REVIEW.

In the past ten years we have made many mistakes. Some of them were made by taking the advice of others, or by resorting to expedients to retrieve financial losses. Others came from not looking into the character and antecedents of those we trusted. But, thank GOD, this last issue of our tenth year of editorial management of the CHURCH REVIEW goes out in form and character of contents, worthy of the age and the Church, — a noble defence of that Church it has humbly tried to serve in her highest realm of literature since the first number was published in April, 1848. Financially it is on a better basis than it has ever been before.

The CHURCH REVIEW is to-day, by position and influence, entitled to the hearty support of every intelligent Churchman. *The Living Church* in review of the April issue was pleased to say that the Editor "has certainly achieved a commanding position." We claim this only for the REVIEW. We have tried to advance the literary standard of the CHURCH REVIEW with the age; we feel that we have done this, and that it stands to-day far in advance of the position it occupied ten years ago, and that it is the equal of any quarterly review published in the English language.

Hereafter every article published in the REVIEW will be in review of some book or other publication on the subject of which it treats.

HENRY MASON BAUM.

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Historic Presbyterians.

RIGHT REV. ARTHUR CLEVELAND COXE, D.D., LL.D.,
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RELIGION in America has reached an alarming crisis, which cannot be neglected much longer by the patriot or the Christian. Disguise it as we may, American institutions are suffering a revolutionary change, if not a fatal subversion. Fatal it must be unless the American spirit can be roused to self-preservation; unless the salt of the earth can be rescued from losing its savor; unless the "ten righteous" in Sodom can be persuaded to join hands and hearts in common labors and intercessions for the thousands who desire not the knowledge of GOD, and choose none of His ways. A social revolution is needed to band together all the elements which are not solvent; and the only force which can organize the lovers of CHRIST and His Gospel for efficient operations must be a religious one. It was not a sentimental yearning for unity, therefore, which prompted the House of Bishops to present to their fellow-Christians a simple statement of first principles of elementary truths, essential to Church restoration. It was a practical movement, inspired by a sense of duty. Both friends and enemies

have recognized the Anglican position as one of vantage for just such overtures as have been made; and at all events, the Bishops themselves understood their obligations and their opportunity at such a time as this. In humble trust, and in a hopeful spirit, they resolved to cast their bread upon the waters, with a holy confidence that it must be found productive "after many days." GOD has made their "word in season" apparently fruitful already,—fruitful, that is, in giving to discussion and inquiry a new direction, awakening a fraternal sympathy among Christians widely separated heretofore, and plucking the "root of bitterness" out of differences which have long been supposed incapable of any other treatment than such as perpetuates implacable hostilities, immedicable wounds, and putrefying sores. Even these have already been mollified as with ointment; and hopes are freely expressed that, after all, our worst evils are not beyond correction by the grace of GOD. He would be a bold man indeed who should say more of the actual situation than that it is not so desperate as has been supposed. The antagonisms and alienations of ages are not to be reconciled in a moment. The wide divergencies which exist among good men are fortified by habit, even where they are quite free from the venom of prejudice and the vanity of Pharisaic self-applause. Many who wish to meet their brethren halfway, or even more than halfway, are yet hindered by their inability to see any way whatever for making a start. Above all, there is the sturdy *vis inertiae* of popular ignorance. Many things in which educated Christians are already agreed are scandals to the masses, whose dulness and misapprehensions we must take into account. Obviously a *process of assimilation* is the condition precedent to any practical solution of the great problem; and that this process is already begun is so evident that I find it a great encouragement to my honest belief that the HOLY SPIRIT is moving over our American chaos of strifes, heresies, and delusions, and that the dry land will certainly appear; nay, not merely dry land, but hills "with verdure clad," where the Good Shepherd may yet feed a united flock, and refresh them with living fountains of water.

To my own mind nothing in the spirit of recent discussions has presented features so promising as that which has been elicited from our Presbyterian brethren. This, indeed, is just what no superficial thinker could have anticipated. It reminds

one of the *quod minime reris* of Virgil,— of the prospect opened to pious Aeneas from a quarter whence he had least right to look for it. Between Geneva and Canterbury how can any common foothold be established? Who can reconcile parity with prelacy? But he who has studied the origin of discord in this matter, and who is versed in scholastic efforts to prop the Papacy, by which the whole subject was artificially confused, knows very well that all the nobler spirits who found themselves originally arranged on opposite sides of the question were by no means implacable in their conflicts of opinion. In point of fact, the great expounder of Primitive Episcopacy, S. Cyprian, outlined a system which effectually meets the views of both parties, and frees the subject of all the subtleties by which it was found clogged at the epoch of the Reformation. As stated by the great Bishop of Carthage, the parity of all the chief pastors of Christendom is not so much asserted as assumed. It was the principle universally understood in Church legislation from the beginning. After this the position of presbyters (pastors, or "Bishops" of limited jurisdiction), and of the faithful laity as sharing in Church councils, is vindicated and insisted upon; so that, as will soon be seen, the Cyprianic system meets what Calvin himself considered Scriptural, and what Baxter and his contemporaries actually proposed as a formula of renewed conformity with the Church of England. Just here, then, let me linger for a moment, to note the historical base established by their co-religionists, which Presbyterians have a right to consider the only Presbyterianism to which they are actually committed, and that to which they may logically recur, in responding to the appeal of our Bishops, should they be so inclined.

It is surprising how generally Presbyterians have forgotten the fact that they largely co-operated with the Anglican Church in the restoration of the English constitutions, civil and ecclesiastical, in 1660. If their eminent spokesman and leader, Richard Baxter, could have persuaded the Anglicans to modify what was conceded to be of civil rather than of ecclesiastical import, a reunion might have been effected at that time. The Church of England, at this moment, concedes as much, when she recognizes our American Church Constitution as differing from her own in nothing of ecclesiastical importance. Her own polity is the product, in many respects, of her time-honored relations

with the State,—relations which involve much to be deplored, but which few of her children are willing to see suddenly and rudely destroyed. We need not wonder, then, that after the civil strifes and the general overthrow of law and order under Cromwell, the restoration of the *ante-bellum* conditions appeared to be the only practical resolution of problems the most intricate, the only remedy for difficulties the most gigantic, and the mildest prescription for allaying the fierce resentments of the moment. It is very honorable to the Presbyterians, however, that they were able to unite upon proposals to the government, of which the substance is as follows:—

We are induced [they say] to insist upon the form of a synodical government conjunct with a fixt presidency or *Episcopacy*, for these reasons: (1) We have reason to believe that no other terms will be so generally agreed on; (2) It, being agreeable to Scripture and the primitive government, is likeliest to be the way of a more general concord, if ever the Churches on earth arrive at such a blessing; however, it will be acceptable to God and well-informed consciences; (3) It will produce the practice of discipline without discord, and promote order without hindering discipline and godliness; (4) And it is not to be silenced . . . that the Prelacy disclaimed in the late 'Covenant' was the engrossing, the sole power of ordination and jurisdiction, and exercising the whole discipline by Bishops themselves and their delegates,—excluding wholly the people of particular Churches from all share in it.¹

Upon this the heavenly-minded Leighton cites Baxter's treatise of Church Government, as favoring "an Episcopacy for the reformation, preservation, and peace of the Churches." And why not? It was nothing new in Presbyterian statements of their *theoretical* position. In language too strong to be repeated, Calvin himself anathematized those who could refuse an Episcopate that recognizes CHRIST, and not the Papacy, for its Headship and its Lawgiver. "In my writings touching Church Government," says Beza, "I ever impugned the Romish hierarchy, but never intended to touch the Church of England." And Bucer, writing to Saravia, the bosom friend of Hooker, expresses himself thus forcibly: "If there be any, as you will not easily persuade me, who would reject the whole Order of

¹ *Two Papers of Proposals, humbly presented to his Majesty by the Rev. MINISTERS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN PERSUASION.* London, 1661.

Bishops, GOD forbid that any man in his senses should assent to their madness." It would be quite easy to multiply similar testimonies. At the Synod of Dort, its president welcomed the English Bishops in language that conceded the less fortunate condition of the Reformed in Holland, deprived as they were of the Episcopate. And later on, Diodati bewailed the same lack in the constitution of the Swiss Churches. Even then the most erudite and sagacious of the Presbyterians were of the same mind with Baxter; and what would they have said, had they fully foreseen the end to which they were drifting? A century later, Rousseau, and not Calvin, was the master of Geneva; and the Presbyterians of England had so generally lapsed into Socinianism, in the early years of this century, that it became necessary to enact a special law in behalf of three hundred congregations which had rejected the Faith of CHRIST. They were thus relieved from lawsuits which assumed that they had forfeited all right to their property by their acknowledged revolt from the principles of their original foundation.

But a rejection of Episcopacy was no part of those original principles, if we accept the testimony we have cited. In fact, the Presbyterians of England committed themselves to the acceptance of a primitive Episcopate almost identical with that defined by Chillingworth. He says: "If we abstract from Episcopal government all accidentals, and consider only what is essential and necessary to it, we shall find it no more but this: an appointment of one man of eminent sanctity and sufficiency to have the care of all the Churches within a certain precinct or Diocese, and furnishing him with authority, *not absolute or arbitrary, but regulated and bounded by laws, and moderated by joining to him a convenient number of assistants*, to the intent that all the Churches under him may be provided of good and able pastors; so that, both of pastors and people, conformity to laws and performance of their duties may be required, under penalties not left to discretion, but by law appointed."

Nor are these historic principles of the early Presbyterians a thing of the past. Again, *quod minime reris*, from Scotland come concessions to these principles far more emphatic than we have yet heard in America. In 1862, the "Moderator" of the great legislature of the Kirk of Scotland deplored the evils of separation, and broke out with this impassioned ejaculation: "Oh, that some great patriot of heaven-born thoughts, full of

the wisdom of the holy Prophets, might arise in our land to show how this conjunction and consummation so devoutly to be wished for might be accomplished!" He admitted that increasing numbers in the Scottish establishment complained of the *bald and cold* nature of their worship, and he eulogized "the beautiful service" of the Church of England. In 1866, Dr. Campbell, Principal of the University of Aberdeen, thus referred to our own American Church: "The admirable constitution of which combines the advantages of Presbytery and Episcopacy, the lay element being represented and employed in a most wise and efficient manner in the councils of the Church." This spirit has grown and strengthened vastly in the course of twenty years. From many examples¹ of the kind take these words of the eminent Principal Tulloch: "Let the dead bury their dead; it is time to forget old conflicts which *all wise thinkers have abandoned*. Presbyterianism does not disown Episcopacy, and certainly does not denounce it; and there are few wise Presbyterians who do not see weaknesses in their own system arising from the disuse of it."

Essential Presbyterianism, then, only demands that "elders and brethren" shall have synodical place and privileges, *conjoint* with the superior order which is now known as the order of "Bishops," — a name which was once common alike to chief pastors and presbyters, just as in an army certain officers are "generals," though some generals are "brigadiers," and others commanders of the corps. The appeal of our House of Bishops, therefore, has come to Presbyterians from just such a Church as they are historically committed to acknowledge as Scriptural and as best fitted to reunite divided households in the family of CHRIST. In 1882, "the Moderator of the General Assembly" (Dr. Milligan) used this language: "There is much to draw us to the Episcopal Church of Scotland. . . . The earliest and best of our reformers had no objections to much that the Episcopal Church retains in *doctrine, worship, and government*. If in later times a spirit of mutual animosity prevailed, it was in no small degree because of temporary causes which have in great measure passed away, . . . deepened by that folly and sin, on both sides, which all parties now equally bewail."

When such language is heard and applauded in the great

¹ See these and others in a publication of Dr. Wordsworth, Bishop of S. Andrew's. — *Ecclesiastical Union between England and Scotland*. Edinburgh, 1888.

council of the Kirk, not once or twice, but again and again, year after year, one would think that " both parties " might embrace at once, and by uniting establish a power for good which the world itself must recognize as of immense import to mankind. Think of what it would mean for this American Republic if Presbyterians might unite with us on principles which their Scottish brethren have thus emphasized. But such a consummation is still a great way off, we may sadly suppose. The recent comments of eminent Presbyterians upon the proposals of our Bishops betray distrust. With suppressed feeling, and almost unanimously, they intimate a fear that there is something behind our theoretical statements, — something kept out of sight for the present, but which must become odious and irritating as soon as the matter is made practical. I think we ought not to give any ground for a suspicion that we are disposed to hide from our brethren what they are entitled to know, and hence I will not avoid the subject which with great delicacy they have approached in their candid and fraternal discussions. They have asked us to be precise in defining the "*Historical Episcopate*." In a word, they wish to know whether this means an Episcopate of which the "*Apostolic Succession*" is the criterion. This is the bugbear, apparently; but perhaps it may seem less terrible when we look at it in its actual bearings and divested of any desire on our part to subject learned and godly brethren to our convictions. The existence of an Episcopate which is historical is all that we have asserted. We present a fact, not a theory. By *historical* is meant something which has been recognized in the Churches of CHRIST from the beginning, — " always, everywhere, and by all; " something that has continuity of transmission under the original canons and constitutions from Apostolic or sub-Apostolic times. This fact and not any dogma concerning its origin is what we have defined. It is candid to remark that not Presbyterians only, but the Papists as well, have adopted theories touching this "*Historic Episcopate*" which we cannot accept. Practically, however, the Latins have not rejected the essentials of its identity and continuity, although their Papacy abhors the Cyprianic system in order to establish its own supremacy. If, then, we accept adhesion to the *fact* in behalf of the Latins, by the same law we must accept it elsewhere. No Roman Bishop is *Catholic* in his position, or has any claim to the Episcopal character,

under the *theory* to which he subscribes as the condition of obtaining it.

The Moravian Episcopate is subject to similar objections; but if *in point of fact* the Historic Episcopate exists among these interesting Christians, it is our duty and privilege to recognize it as meeting our propositions of unity, at least so far forth.

What Presbyterians seem to scent with disrelish is a *subaudition* of reordination. None of them, however, is greater than Apollos,—that eloquent man of GOD, “mighty in the Scriptures,” and pre-eminent as a successful preacher of CHRIST, who was yet so humble that he consented to learn “the way of GOD” *more perfectly* from a layman and even from a woman! He was even rebaptized without murmuring, in order to “fulfil all righteousness,” as did CHRIST, his grand exemplar, who under that principle *demanded* a baptism of which He had no need at all. Now, whatever our learned brethren may object (and the Bishop of S. Andrew’s has said it for them), I yet believe that, considering and studying this subject in its hierurgic and liturgic lights, they must come to the conclusion that they need to learn something of this “way of GOD” *more perfectly*.¹ The utter absence of any recognition of functions of the Christian Priesthood beyond that of *preaching*, in most of their expressions upon this subject, is remarkable. If the laity are also “a holy Priesthood,” how must we account for this abnegation of all *priestly functions* in those set apart to be the special agents of the One Great High-Priest, in all things which He has commanded? I entreat dear brethren who have too little thought of this to examine the Greek of that remarkable text (Rom. xv. 15, 16), in which S. Paul asserts his *hierurgic* ministration of the Gospel, for which he had received the *charisma* of the HOLY SPIRIT. It is a passage which illustrates the grand hierarchy of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and connects it with Christian counterparts of the Levitical types.

I believe, then, that deep thought on this subject would persuade many that as Apollos did no dishonor to his former ministry, when he completed it, in this respect, so they might in like manner, *demand* a further gift. But we have not indiscreetly and unlovingly proposed this to our brethren. Our proposals are, in brief, that every organization of Christians, *throughout the world*, should recur to the requirements of the

¹ See *Apollos, or, The Way of God.* By Bishop Coxe, Lippincott, Publishers.

Nicene Constitutions as to a common centre, and complete their organic form, by "setting in order the things that are wanting." This insures essential conformity with the constitution of the Historic Church before the Papacy existed, and so long as it was *visibly* "One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic." Such is what we require of ourselves; and wherever we ourselves can be proved to have suffered any loss, there we too are bound by our own terms to conform ourselves to the Nicene standard. We demand no less of arrogant and schismatical Rome; and we rejoice to see "the Old Catholics" restoring themselves to a pure Catholicity, on this principle. The "*Roman* Catholic Church," so called, is by that very name defined as *contra*-Nicene, and therefore non-Catholic. It is, in fact, not a Church, but an unlawful confederation of Western Churches, which are Catholic only in their individuality, and not in their confederacy. By this analysis only can we recognize them; even as CHRIST recognized severally each of the seven Churches of Asia,—types as they were of degenerate Churches of our own age. And what does he command them to do for their purification? In every instance, to "remember from what they have fallen; . . . to repent and do their first works." The fallen and corrupt Churches of antiquity, therefore, are still Apostolic Churches,—one a "Sardis," another a "Thyatira," perhaps, but still recognized by their only Supreme Head and Great High-Priest, who stands amid the golden candlesticks and holds their stars in His right hand. This is "the Catholic Church" even in its debasement, as viewed by its long-suffering LORD and MASTER. We may not be a "Smyrna," nor a "Philadelphia;" perhaps our Anglican Church is a "Laodicea." But our safeguard is this: we do not refuse to hear "what the SPIRIT saith to the Churches," and what we suppose to be the duty of others we prescribe rigorously, and first of all, to ourselves.

One difficulty which has thus far confused the discussion on the part of our Christian brethren generally has been the natural product of their position, or standpoint. Viewing us as they do, they have felt it somewhat presuming for us to state the case as we have done, because it seems to demand conformity to our standards, and a subjection of their organizations to ours. We, on the other hand, have hardly thought of our American Church at all; we have spoken for the *Universal*

Church of CHRIST, asking our brethren to conform themselves to its historic laws, and professing our readiness to do the same, in all respects, where we can be shown to have erred by Holy Scripture, interpreted by history and primitive constitutions.

They have therefore viewed our proposals as a local or national question, respecting chiefly the divided state of American Christianity, and reducing even this view of the case to divisions among those popularly known as "Evangelical." We, on the other hand, have been forced by our position to respect the entire common weal of Catholic Christendom; to enforce its organic laws as the common concern of all Christians; and to abate nothing from the requirements of those laws, whether in our own behalf or in behalf of others. We long to bear our part in healing local differences, and restoring Americans to Catholic, that is, Scriptural unity; but in order to do this, we must not forfeit anything that we retain in common with the Oriental Churches,—those great sources of liturgic formulae, those mother Churches of all Christendom. Our Anglican standpoint, even as the most embittered of our Roman enemies have been forced to allow, is "most precious." Yes, indeed! So says even that friend and ally of the Jesuits, the fanatical De Maistre. The inward convictions of the Roman Court itself find expression in what he has reluctantly admitted, influenced by a momentary hope to seduce England from a Catholic foothold,—down from the Nicene rock into the quagmire of Trent. "If ever Christians reunite," he says, "it would seem that the movement *must proceed from the Anglican Church*, which touches us on the one side and the Protestants on the other. . . . In this aspect she is *most precious*, and seems like those chemical *intermèdes*, which are capable of bringing together and combining elements in themselves the most dissocial." Yes, indeed! And this *precious* position we shall never forfeit. The time must come when the Roman immigration, or rather invasion, may produce its Döllinger, and will gladly listen to our *precious* testimony. We are the reserve force of Catholicity, and we bide our time. A glorious mission is ours, and we feel it. A fierce conflict menaces our country, between the aggressions of Romanism and all that is American. Marshalled, as it is, and wholly controlled, by the Jesuits, Ultramontane Romanism cannot maintain itself here. What all the Romanized States of Europe have expelled from their body politic, what even a

Pope abolished as intolerable to civilization, must sooner or later provoke a like retribution from a free republic. Our proposals to the Protestants of America were made in full view of this coming conflict. We urge our brethren to unity, partly because our divisions afford encouragement to the adversary, and wholly because the law of CHRIST ordains such unity. But, come what may, we cannot destroy our own Catholicity in behalf of a fictitious fusion, or rob ourselves of the high mission which awaits us in the near future,—our mission, that is, to co-operate with an “Old Catholic” movement that cannot long be delayed in these United States. Working with such allies, we are destined to save the nation itself from an alien hierarchy, intent upon making us what it has made of Mexico and Brazil. In this view our Church is “most precious.”

Meantime, my own ideas of duty are these: To keep before our “Evangelical” brethren the common law of Christendom, and to aid them in conforming themselves thereto in their own way and in the LORD’s good time, doing this in the fulness of fraternal love and social good-will. Responding to such overtures, let us suppose our Moravian brethren to awaken to the great importance of their relations to Presbyterians and others, assuming (what is *presumptively* the fact) that they possess the Historic Episcopate already. A *formal* though abnormal Episcopacy is maintained by our Methodist brethren; and we should rejoice to see the nobler Moravian character conferred upon Methodist Bishops by a movement which would prove greatly to the advantage of both. The maxims of John Wesley must sooner or later begin to operate upon that great American organization which justly glories in his beloved name; and if ever the Presbyterians, already renouncing Calvinism, should promote a fusion with Methodists, we may be sure that their learning and keen perceptions of truth must demand nothing less as a preliminary than a legitimation of Methodist Orders. The fusion that might thus come about would enable them to turn upon us and say, “See how great and strong we are, and how inconsiderable are you; come ye to us, for it is unreasonable on your part to expect us to come to you.” And what must then be our reply? Brethren, you have made us one already; let us now operate together with “the Old Catholics” for the expulsion of Jesuitism and alienism from American Christianity,—for the restoration, that is to say, of Nicene unity,

Cyprianic unity, Ignatian unity; the unity ordained of CHRIST Himself; "one flock under one shepherd;" one house "built upon the foundation of Apostles and Prophets, JESUS CHRIST Himself being the chief Corner-stone."

Our fellow-Christians are more numerous than we are; we have not a particle of objection to see them thus organized into a majestic American Church, greater, richer, more Apostolic, and more loyal to CHRIST than we are. With such a Church we should be in full communion, and must soon coincide in a visible unity. The process thus fancifully outlined would involve temporary anomalies; but, as was demonstrated in the Donatist history, anomalies may be tolerated *in the process of reconstruction* which would be subversive of Catholicity if generated by the contrary spirit of schism.

To sum up all that has been said, and to clear the subject, let us note that what originated with the American Bishops was reaffirmed by the hundred and fifty Bishops at Lambeth, and is now presented to the Reformed, both in America and in Europe, in substance as follows: —

The Holy Scriptures, the Creeds, the Sacraments, and the Historic Episcopate are the ancient conditions of unity. They are the only imaginable conditions for its restoration. The Council of Nicæa has claims on all Christians, and whatever is subversive of the organized unity recognized by all the world when it bore its witness to CHRIST, is not Catholic but schismatical. We ask none of our fellow-Christians to come over to us; we say, "Let us all meet in old Nicæa." If we discover that we are deficient in any respect, when tried by that standard, let us, each for himself, seek to remedy his own defects. Let the spirit of fraternal love animate us in all our relations with others who cherish a similar spirit, however imperfectly they may seem to develop it. By prayer, and by the grace and providence of GOD, we shall be brought by converging lines to a common centre, in GOD's good time. To some the process will be comparatively easy; the Moravians may find it much less of a task, for example, than the Baptists, though possibly the reverse may be practically true, for the Baptists practise, in administering baptism, what seems more in accordance with the spirit of all primitive antiquity. We, in turn, may be justly reproached for much that is inconsistent with our own professions; and we may not repel, we rather invite the rejoinder,

"Physician, heal thyself." In short, truth is to be sought and followed for its own sake; and he who accepts this as the law of his life, is already a Catholic at heart. "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." Such is the ennobling charter of the sons of GOD; and it includes a promise that should prompt all of us to effort for securing the result. It is something to believe in CHRIST'S promises and in the power of the HOLY GHOST to make them good to all believers. It is a great thing to make one's life a contribution to this end, though it may seem unattainable. And if, as the mathematicians inform us, there are lines that can never meet, though perpetually converging, let us be sure that even such lines are a parable, and intimate that it is well to move in the right direction at least, because there is a life eternal, where what is aimed at in this world is sure to be realized. For one, I do not think there is any probability of Catholic welding among us, save through the fiery trial of persecution, and under the hammer of tremendous visitations of Providence; but such trials *may be near at hand*. Irreligion and alien invasion are multiplying the perils of our common country. What happened in France a hundred years ago may warn us that we are not invulnerable. The uprising of wage-earners against the capitalist is but a token of what may be preparing in other complications. A general distrust of our politicians and governors forebodes a coming failure of all law, when the white heat of popular passion shall try every man's work. Our indifference to religion as it already exists may well remind us that the nation and people that will not serve GOD must perish by His judgments.

A. CLEVELAND COXE.

The Historic Episcopate.

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I PROPOSE to treat in this paper two questions,—first, “*What* we find about the Historic Episcopate;” and secondly, “*Why* we should naturally expect to find it.” It is the case of an old friend, or to some people an old foe, with a new face. The long controversy has changed in many ways, prominently and particularly in terminology. The “*Apostolic succession*,” which used to be ridiculed as a matter of magic and mummery, has got to be a question of history and fact; and the evidence of this is partly in the very change of terms. I may as well say that I firmly believe that CHRIST ordained the Historic Episcopate when He ordained the Apostolate; that the one included and involved the other; so that it does not seem to me to make an iota of difference *when* the Apostles set apart men for the carrying on of the work which CHRIST had assigned to them to do. The only question is, *whether* they did it; for it is incredible to me that they should have dared to invent, and intrude into the polity of the Church (that is to say, the government of the Kingdom of GOD on earth), anything of their own origination. And it being once granted that Bishops are found *in* the Apostolic age, *by* Apostolic appointment, and *with* Apostolic authority,—or, to put it more mildly, *without* *indignant Apostolic protest*,—it seems to me to follow inevitably that Bishops were of CHRIST’s own appointment. It is certainly a geological fact that in the earliest stratum of the most ancient earth the oldest fossil relic is the trilobite, which is a three-lobed or threefold thing. I believe it can be as thoroughly proven that in the most ancient stratum of the Holy Land—the oldest part and age, that is to say, of the Christian Church—the trilobite exists, in the threefold ministry of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons,—the first living organism of the Church.

This is the first point to be proved, or at any rate, that there existed an *Order* (*Βαθμός*, S. Paul calls it, which we translate

"degree," but by which the Eastern Church has always described the *Orders* of the ministry), — an *Order* of men, set apart for the two great acts of governing and perpetuating the ministry.

The statement which for a good many years has stood at the head of the English *Ordinal* is certainly a challenge, hitherto not successfully contested, of this truth. "It is evident unto all men diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient authors that from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of ministers in CHRIST'S Church: Bishops, Priests, and Deacons." It looks a little bit as if the English Church meant by this to say that if people have not found these three Orders it is because they have either not read Holy Scripture and ancient authors *together*, or else they have not read them *diligently*. I am glad to say that Bishop Lightfoot has attained such an honorable reputation for thoroughness of research, and for impartiality of judgment, that one can safely appeal to him as an authority respected even by those who are not willing to accept or to act upon his conclusions. His vindication of the authenticity and authority of the Ignatian Epistles is one of the great masterpieces of honest and clear-headed criticism in the nineteenth century; and in his *Commentaries* to the Epistle to the Philippians he says: "The result of my investigation into the origin of the Christian ministry has been a confirmation of the statement in the English *Ordinal*." Over and over again he emphasizes this. For example: "The threefold ministry can be traced to Apostolic direction;" and again: "Unless we have recourse to a sweeping condemnation of received documents, it seems vain to deny that early in the second century the Episcopal office was firmly and widely established. Thus during the last three decades of the first century, and consequently during the lifetime of the last surviving Apostle, this change must have been brought about" (that is to say, from a Presbyterate governed by Apostles to a Diocesan Episcopacy). And still again: "The evidence for the early and wide extension of Episcopacy through proconsular Asia may be considered irrefragable." When you add to this the fact that proconsular Asia was the scene of S. John's life and labors to the end, there comes a very marked emphasis to the matter of our LORD's intention; for certainly the Apostle whom JESUS loved could not have suffered the existence and extension of an institution in the Church, which

was not according to "the mind of CHRIST." We do not wonder that Lightfoot should add: "The prevalence of Episcopacy cannot be disassociated from the influence and sanction of the Apostles; and short of an express statement, we can possess no better assurance of a Divine appointment, or at least of a Divine sanction."

I desire to add, in connection with this same region of the world, what always seemed to me a very strong bit of historical evidence in the same direction. In the Acts of the Fourth General Council held at Chalcedon A. D. 451, in the course of a debate respecting the filling up of the Ephesian Bishopric which had been declared vacant, Leontius, Bishop of Magnesia, made the statement: "That from Timothy to the time then present, there had been twenty-seven Bishops of that See, all of whom had been ordained in Ephesus itself."¹

I am quite well aware that this question of the Diocesan Episcopate, as illustrated by S. Timothy's appointment to Ephesus, is a somewhat mooted point, and that Bishop Lightfoot, from whom any one would hesitate to differ, considers his office "rather a movable than a localized Episcopate, so far as the Gentile Churches were concerned." But the localized or Diocesan Episcopate among the Hebrew Christians seems to me hardly to admit of a doubt, for S. James, who presided in the Council of Jerusalem, was either one of the twelve (which I do not believe),—and if he was, then we have certainly the case of an Apostle set apart as a Diocesan Bishop and presiding over a single See,—or else he was *not* an Apostle at all; in which case we have an instance of a Diocesan Bishop, in the time of the Apostles, presiding over them, their equal in order because he was a Bishop, and their superior in local dignity, because he was the Bishop of the See city in which the Council met.

Of course it is perfectly possible that Episcopacy grew "by way of development, as the needs of the extending Church demanded it." So did the Diaconate. But it does not follow from that, that it was not according to the polity of our LORD. Indeed, we must always use that word "development," not in the sense of the discovery and promulgation of something, without,

¹ Labb , *Concilia* iv. p. 700; quoted by Bishop Charles Wordsworth in his invaluable treatise, *Outlines of the Christian Ministry*.

if not against, the original and Divine plan. A thing must be enveloped first, in order that it may be developed afterward. And there are various positive and important steps, recorded in the book of the Acts as taken by the Apostles not in a slow, doubtful, hesitating way, but positively and promptly, as men act who have been thoroughly trained and prepared for emergencies which arise. One of these I propose to speak of in detail, as answering the second question of the two which head this article; namely, why we should expect to find the Historic Episcopate. I mean the ordinance, certainly Sacramental in its character, which is called "the laying on of hands." The others will naturally suggest themselves,—the change from the seventh to the first day of the week; from the evening Passover to the morning Eucharist; the institution of the Diaconate; and the resort to a Council representing the whole Church as the method of settling any question of doctrine or order.

And now as to the holy ordinance known in Holy Scripture as "the laying on of hands," which has received, in the whole Western Church for nearly twelve centuries, the name of Confirmation; the Eastern Church calling it the Seal of the LORD, or the Unction. Our own name, venerable both for antiquity and for such authority as that of S. Ambrose and S. Gregory, is chiefly admirable because it is specific,—*laying on of hands* being of course used, not merely for confirming the grace and vow of the baptized, but for conveying Holy Orders, and indeed for any solemn act of benediction. My conviction and contention about this matter is, that if we can find it in Holy Scripture and ancient authors required, and confined, so far as its administration goes, to one Order of the ministry, it must mean that we shall also find the Order of the ministry authorized to administer it.

Let me begin by saying that the argument for the institution of the laying on of hands by CHRIST Himself, runs, as do so many arguments of a similar sort, in parallel lines of what in one way were parallel lives. The action of S. Peter (S. John being associated with him) in Samaria, immediately after the day of Pentecost, as illustrating the doctrine of S. Peter in the sermon preached on the day of Pentecost, is to be studied side by side with the action of S. Paul in the city of Ephesus, as illustrating the doctrine which I believe S. Paul taught to the Hebrew Christians, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, which I believe

S. Paul wrote. And before I proceed to put these four things side by side, I must urge the importance of remembering how absolutely independent S. Paul's testimony is. What he did and what he taught, he learned "neither from men nor by man," but by direct revelation from our LORD Himself. So that he was "no whit behind the chieftest Apostles" in his ability to say that he was teaching men "to observe whatsoever CHRIST had commanded him." And every witness of his, if I may so say, is therefore clear gain; so much extra light thrown on our LORD'S plan of teaching and work.

When S. Peter, in Samaria, preached the first Christian sermon in answer to that great question of the interested multitude, it always seemed to me that he told them to do *three* things and not *two*; that is to say, when he said, "*Repent and be baptized, and ye shall receive the gift of the HOLY GHOST,*" I am quite sure he did not mean that the HOLY GHOST was to come to them in Holy Baptism.

Because, in the first place, when the news came to him of the conversion of the Samaritans, and of their baptism by Philip the Deacon, he and S. John went down immediately to Samaria, and "laid their hands on them, and they received the HOLY GHOST;" and S. Luke adds, by way of emphasis and explanation, "for as yet he was fallen upon none of them, *only* they were baptized." It seems to me an irresistible conclusion, therefore, that we have doctrine and practice side by side in S. Peter's sermon, "*Ye shall receive the HOLY GHOST,*" and in S. Peter's act in the confirmation of the baptized Samaritans. And that this was not local, isolated, or temporary, one gathers from the fact that in speaking of the duty of receiving the HOLY GHOST, S. Peter says, "The promise to you *and* to your children, *and* to all that are afar off, even as many as the LORD our GOD shall call." I do not go into any argument, because it is needless, and out of place here, to prove that this laying on of hands was not for the conveyance of miraculous gifts alone. There are three things to be noted in such a transaction,—the gift, the sign, and the result. And they are all different. The gift is the HOLY GHOST; the sign is the laying on of hands; the result may be, or may not be, miraculous. Certainly, if one gathers anything from what S. Paul writes to the Corinthians (and nobody knew better than he the value of miraculous gifts), the manifestation of the SPIRIT is various; and the word of

wisdom, the word of knowledge and faith, are put in the same catalogue with, and *put before*, healing and miracles and divers kinds of tongues.

Now take the other case. S. Paul, writing to the Hebrew Christians a description of what he calls the "principles of the *doctrine of CHRIST*," includes among the six, and as the fourth, the laying on of hands. What did he mean by it? Let him answer the question himself, and explain his teaching, as S. Peter explained his, by his practice. He went down to Ephesus, and finding twelve men there, believers so far as they had knowledge of the truth, he first taught them the doctrine of baptisms by his practice; that is, he showed them the difference between the merely formal and external rite of S. John the Baptist, and the spiritual and interior baptism which he gave them. And then *also* by his practice he taught them the doctrine of the laying on of hands, for he proceeded to confirm them, as we would say, just as S. Peter did at Jerusalem, and "they received the **HOLY GHOST**."

I go back now to the point from which I started. S. Paul calls this "a principle of the *doctrine of CHRIST*." He could only have known of it from **CHRIST** Himself. In like manner, S. Peter, as one of those who also "had the mind of **CHRIST**," acts in this matter, not *proprio motu*, but according to the teachings which he and the other Apostles had received during the years of intimate association before our **LORD**'s death, and during the great forty days which our **LORD** spent with the Apostles, principally "teaching them the things concerning the Kingdom of **GOD**;" and then by the motion of the **HOLY SPIRIT**, who was sent to "call to their remembrance" the things that **CHRIST** had taught them, in order that they might be both guarded and guided to fulfil the great commission; to teach baptized people "to observe all things whatsoever He had commanded them." Who shall presume to say that "this laying on of hands" was not one of the things which they were commanded to teach all baptized people to observe? If anybody objects to this that it makes Confirmation a Sacrament, I have only to say that this is no objection. The only objection would be for us as Churchmen, if we put it on a level with the two *great* Sacraments. For it is mere carelessness of speech not to remember that the only thing which this Church teaches is that **CHRIST** has ordained *only* two Sacraments as "generally necessary to

salvation," which proves, *not* that Confirmation is *not* a Sacrament, but only that it is *not* necessary to salvation.

Under this presentation of the case, it does not seem to me that any words of mine are needed to bring the argument to the focal point of its application. If Confirmation is "a principle of the doctrine of CHRIST," and if its administration, by historical evidence, was confined to the Apostles, it stands to reason that the office appointed to administer it must necessarily be continued in the Church of CHRIST; and this is why we should expect to find what for convenience' sake is called the Historic Episcopate, perpetuated in the Church.

WILLIAM CROSWELL DOANE.

What is meant by the "Historic Episcopate" in the Resolutions of the House of Bishops in 1886, and the Lambeth Conference of 1888.

**RIGHT REV. WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L.
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THE general acquiescence of Christian bodies and individuals in the first, second, and third resolutions proposed by the Lambeth Conference of 1888 as the basis of Christian reunion, leaves the fourth resolution as the one around which the controversy centres. What is the meaning of the Historic Episcopate referred to by the Bishops assembled at Lambeth, and earlier by the Bishops gathered at Chicago? It would seem from the various interpretations given to this phrase that it requires explanation and authoritative definition to remove ambiguity and emphasize its true meaning.

It is claimed that Churchmen themselves are not agreed as to the nature of the Historic Episcopate. It is said that "the Greek Church will not agree with the Roman" as to the Historic Episcopate, and that "neither of these will agree with the Anglican." In view of "this discord," it is asserted that the "Bishops, differing among themselves in their theory of the Episcopate, could not lay down a basis for the reunion of Christendom that would involve any particular theory of the Episcopate." It is further urged that "they could only mean that which was essential to the Historic Episcopate,—that to which divines like Hatch, Lightfoot, and Gore could agree."

The able and accomplished controversialist whose words we have cited, the Rev. Dr. Charles A. Briggs, of the Union Theological Seminary of the city of New York, adds to his deductions the following words:—

The view that I have taken of the meaning of the Historic Episcopate as proposed by the House of Bishops and the Lambeth Conference as

the fourth term of union is confirmed by one who seems to speak with authority. Dr. Vincent, the Assistant-Bishop of Southern Ohio, tells us plainly, —

Nothing is said here of Episcopacy as of Divine institution or necessity, nothing of 'Apostolic succession,' nothing of a Scriptural origin or a doctrinal nature in the institution. It is expressly proposed here only in its 'historical character' and as 'locally adapted to the varying needs of God's people.' All else, unless it be its Scripturalness, is matter of opinion to which this Church has never formally committed herself. Her position here is the same broad and generous one taken in the Preface to her Ordinal. That phrase 'the Historic Episcopate,' was deliberately chosen as declaring not a doctrine, but a fact, and as being general enough to include all variants¹ [*An Address on Christian Unity*, p. 29].

"This platform," proceeds Dr. Briggs, "thus interpreted, is broad enough and strong enough for the feet of Presbyterians; and it contains nothing to which they can rightly object."

In other words, the non-Episcopal Churches are willing to consider and accept the Historic Episcopate, if it is regarded not as existing *jure divino*, but simply as *jure humano*, and as not essential to the existence of the Church, though as important for its well-being.

Elsewhere in the able and temperate article from which we have quoted, Dr. Briggs seems to consider the Historic Episcopate as related solely to the government and discipline of the Church; and he evidently regards the language of the Assistant-Bishop of Southern Ohio as conceding that the Historic Episcopate, as understood by the House of Bishops at Chicago and the Lambeth Conference, is to be regarded simply as being *jure humano*, and as "not essential to the existence of the Church," though "important for its well-being." He proceeds further to eliminate from the idea of the Historic Episcopate all claim to the existence of a threefold ministry, and all pretence that "Bishops had any exclusive Divine right or historic right to transmit the Episcopal Order." The Bishops of this Historic Episcopate are to "be simply the executive officers of the Church, chosen by the presbyteries." In other words, when the Historic Episcopate is made un-historic and un-Episcopal; when the term becomes synonymous with, and means no more than, the phrase of Dr. Briggs' coinage or adoption, "the Historic Presbyter," — then there will be Chris-

¹ It must be borne in mind that the Assistant-Bishop of Ohio was not a member of the House of Bishops in 1886, nor in attendance upon the Lambeth Conference of 1888.

tian union; for then *all will be Presbyterians*, a consummation, in the Professor's view, doubtless devoutly to be wished for.

We turn from such a *reductio ad absurdum* to the well-considered, and in our view unambiguous, words of the Lambeth resolution, reaffirming the language of the House of Bishops at Chicago:—

The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of His Church.

As present, and voting for this proposition, both in Chicago and at Lambeth, I am confident that I comprehend the nature of the resolution as it was understood by the great body of the Bishops in 1886; while from my clear recollections of the debates in 1888 at Lambeth, and from notes made at the time, as well as from the closest scrutiny of all that has subsequently appeared in print respecting this momentous discussion, about which more has been revealed than with regard to any other action of the Conference, I am confident that I can correctly represent and report what the Bishops at Lambeth said and did and meant.

That any theory or definition of the Historic Episcopate was intended by the American Bishops inconsistent with the call of GOD to all nations and peoples to *the unity of His Church*, is certainly untenable. That there was a Church—the Church of CHRIST, existing, visible, militant, upon the earth—was the belief of the great majority of the Bishops assembled at Chicago, if it was not the conviction of every member of this body. That the Historic Episcopate existed in direct, continuous succession from the Apostles' times; that the existence of the threefold ministry, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, was to be traced to Apostolic days; and that as Lightfoot claimed, this "threefold ministry" can be traced to Apostolic direction, and, to quote the same great authority, that "short of an express statement, we can possess no better assurance of a Divine appointment, or at least a Divine sanction,"¹—was indisputably the conviction of every Bishop at Chicago and, we are confident, of every Bishop at Lambeth, with possibly two or three exceptions. That to this Church thus constituted, thus "built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, JESUS CHRIST Himself being the

¹ Lightfoot's *Dissertation on the Christian Ministry*, p. 265.

chief corner-stone," was promised the presence of its LORD and MASTER for all time to come, and "that from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of Ministers in CHRIST'S Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons," —we believe to be the conviction of every Bishop in the world. That for the return to unity of those long separated and estranged, — schismatics in fact, though often not in intent or even in guilt, — the Historic Episcopate, confessedly flexible in its administration, might be adapted to varied circumstances, even to the provision of a Bishop for every large centre of population — if this return to what Professor Briggs styles the "parochial Bishops" is desired; if this adaptation or accommodation of the Historic Episcopate might effect the longed-for return to unity, — this was the wish, the purpose, the prayer of the great body of the Chicago and the Lambeth Bishops. Views inconsistent with this understanding of the proposition were not even breathed by any Bishop at Chicago. If the words then adopted in the mind of any Bishop committed, or seemed to commit, the Church to the *jure humano* theory of the Historic Episcopate and the threefold ministry, it is a matter of history that such a conception was rigorously repressed. No one of the Bishops uttered, no one urged such a view of the Historic Episcopate as that deduced by Dr. Briggs from the language of the Lambeth resolution or as this resolution is interpreted by the Assistant-Bishop of Southern Ohio. Such a view of the Historic Episcopate would certainly have stultified our very position as Bishops of the Church of GOD, and would have committed the House to a revolutionary scheme at variance not alone with history, with precedent, with fact, but with the Constitution of the American Church, with our Ordinal, with our constant canonical practice of reordaining all applicants for Holy Orders not already Episcopally ordained, and with our consecration vows. Nor this alone. Action predicated on such a view of the Historic Episcopate as is deduced by Dr. Briggs from the Chicago-Lambeth resolution would widen the breach now existing between the Reformed Churches of the Anglican Communion claiming the Episcopal succession and inviting the fullest investigation as to the validity of their claim, — a claim in these latest days of historical research put forth by Lightfoot and admitted by Von Döllinger, and the Churches of Latin Christendom as well as those of the East. The comprehen-

sion of the Greek and Latin Churches into this unity of GOD's Church seems in no way a matter of concern to Dr. Briggs. In his desire to minimize the conception of the Historic Episcopate, to make it practically another form of Presbyterianism, Dr. Briggs would commit the Bishops to a concession that the Church's position on this point has been for years more than a blunder, practically a sin. Nor is this all. Were terms of union such as Dr. Briggs deduces from the Lambeth resolution seriously entertained by the Anglican Bishops, the non-Episcopal Christian organizations would lose the only possible means of ever comprehending in the united, the Catholic, the universal Church of CHRIST the communion of all saints everywhere in the world, that vast majority of Christians who recognize Episcopacy as a fact, and therefore as a rule. Even in the United States, which seems to bound the horizon of Dr. Briggs' vision, with the adoption of Presbyterianism, the reduction of the historic Bishop to a simple presbyter, the rejection of the Apostolical succession, the disuse of the threefold ministry, the denial of the grace of Orders, the sundering of the tie binding the Bishop, Priest, and Deacon to the Shepherd and Bishop of souls,—to Him who was also an Elder, to Him who came as a Deacon to minister,—the strife with Rome would be ended, but ended in an ignominious surrender of that which alone, even in the view of intelligent Romanists themselves, makes the Anglican Church and its American daughter the possible ground for the reunion of all Christendom. Nor would union with the great body of Latin Christianity alone be impossible. The Greek Church, which has drawn nearer and nearer to us of late, the Old Catholics, the Jansenists, and all the Churches of the East with whom Episcopacy is both a law and a fact, would be repelled from us forever.

So far from conceding to Dr. Briggs that the *jure divino* theory has been "slain by historical criticism," and that the New Testament affords no proof of the three Orders of the ministry, we affirm quite the opposite opinion. We submit in defence of our position the well-considered words of the late Bishop of Durham, Dr. Lightfoot, whose position Dr. Briggs seems unable to comprehend. Starting with this great scholar's statement that "history seems to show decisively that before the middle of the second century each Church, or organized Christian community, had its three Orders of ministers,—its Bishops, its Pres-

byters, and its Deacons," — and emphasizing his further assertion that "on this point there cannot reasonably be two opinions," it is easy, with Lightfoot as our guide, to reconstruct the *jure divino* claim for the Historic Episcopate, as including the three-fold ministry and the Apostolical succession. Commenting on the position occupied by S. James, the brother of the LORD, in the Church of Jerusalem, Bishop Lightfoot states his conviction that "he was not one of the twelve," and proceeds to assert that "the Episcopal office thus existed in the Mother Church of Jerusalem from very early days, at least in a rudimentary form;" while the government of the Gentile Churches, though presenting, in the Bishop's view, no distinct traces of a similar organization, exhibits "stages of development tending in this direction." Nor is this all. The same great authority assumes that the position occupied by Timothy and Titus, whom he characterizes as "Apostolic-delegates," and whom Gore regards as "Apostolic men," "fairly" — we are citing Lightfoot's conclusions — "represents the functions of the Bishop early in the second century." Even admitting with Lightfoot — whose scrupulous anxiety "not to overstate the evidence in any case" led him (to quote his own words) to use "partial and qualifying statements prompted by this anxiety," which, as he expressly states, "assumes undue proportions in the minds of some," even "to the neglect of the general drift of the essay"¹ — that "James, the LORD'S brother, alone within the period compassed by Apostolic writings can claim to be regarded as a Bishop in the later and more special sense of the term," it is evident that he regards this instance of the exercise of the Episcopal office in "very early days," even in the New Testament period, as unquestionable. Conceding with Lightfoot that "as late, therefore, as the year 70 no distinct signs of Episcopal government have appeared in Gentile Christendom," we must acknowledge, in the language of the same authority, that "unless we have recourse to a sweeping condemnation of received documents, it seems vain to deny that early in the second century the Episcopal office was firmly and widely established. . . . *Thus during the last three decades of the first century, and consequently during the lifetime of the latest surviving Apostles, this change must have been brought about.*" And again: "These notices, besides establishing the general prevalence of Episcopacy, . . . establish this

¹ *Dissertation on the Christian Ministry.*

result clearly, that its maturer forms are seen first in those regions where the latest surviving Apostles, more especially S. John, fixed their abode, and at a time when its prevalence cannot be dissociated from their influence and sanction." With this cumulative presentation of the proofs of the Historic Episcopate from the writings of the leading scholar of the age, we may well cite his summing up of the whole matter in these pregnant words: "If the preceding investigation is substantially correct, the threefold ministry can be traced to Apostolic direction; and short of an express statement, we can possess no better assurance of a Divine appointment, or at least a Divine sanction." To these words the same great scholar, not long before his lamented death, added the further assertion in his sermon before the Wolverhampton Church Congress that the Church of England (and consequently the American Church) has "retained a form of Church government which has been handed down in unbroken continuity from the Apostles' times." That this view of the Historic Episcopate, the threefold ministry, and the Church, was and is the view of the major part of the Anglican Episcopate may be inferred from the fact that it is in accord with the language of the Ordinal, with the requirement of Episcopal ordination found in the Prayer-Book and in the Canons, and especially with the action of the Lambeth Conference, which, so far from approving the proposal of the late Metropolitan of Sydney, Dr. Barry, now Suffragan of Rochester, speaking for the Bishop of S. Andrew's, Dr. Charles Wordsworth, to admit temporarily and with a view to the promotion of Christian union the validity of non-Episcopal Orders, refused by a decisive vote even to receive the report containing this revolutionary suggestion. It is not too much to assert that the scheme of recognition — even for a time, and that too with a view to the speedy subsequent discontinuance of all distinctively Presbyterian or non-Episcopal ordination whatever — of any other ordination than that received at the hands of Bishops would, had it obtained the votes of the Conference, have tended to the immediate disruption of the Church. Such is the outspoken assertion of a writer, presumably the learned Bishop of Edinburgh, Dr. Dowden, in an able article on this subject in the (*English*) *Church Quarterly Review*. It is certain that it would have occasioned the immediate withdrawal from the Conference of a large number of the assembled Bishops, and those too the

most noted for general learning, for labors for the cause and Church of CHRIST, and for theological acumen and lore. None present, it has been said, will forget the flashing of the brilliant eyes, the contemptuous curl of the lips, the indignant scorn of expression, and the eager gesture of dissent, with which the proposal of this recognition of non-Episcopal Orders by a side wind, and the historical illustrations with which it was attempted to bolster up this plan, were impatiently listened to by the one man of vast historical learning, and the one chief authority for the constitutional history of England, and of the English Church, which the Conference contained.¹ It was in this connection, and during the debate on this report, that the Bishop of Durham, showing in his voice and manner that the hand of death was already upon him, took occasion in his expression of unqualified opposition to this scheme to "disclaim wholly the interpretation which the Bishop of S. Andrew's" had "put upon his words," as well as "the interpretation given them by Presbyterian controversialists." The Bishop proceeded to say, and no one who was present can forget the impressiveness of his words: "It is sometimes convenient to extract one sentence from a long essay, all of which is meant to hinge together, and to use that sentence for a purpose." It was a testimony to the threefold ministry and the Historic Episcopate then and there solemnly pronounced which but a few days later this distinguished scholar and prelate reiterated in his address at the reopening of the historic S. Peter's Chapel at Auckland Castle. The American Bishops, with but a single exception, spoke or voted against the reception of this report. And the testimony of the young and heroic Bickersteth of Japan as to the "fatal effects" of such action "on the work in the mission fields;" his further warning, "If you want vigorous self-sacrifice for the Church abroad, you must not shake the foundations of the Church at home;" and his prophetic words, "It will have no influence; it will be of no avail; the converts from heathenism claim validity and regularity,"—added to the almost unanimous verdict of the Conference against this measure. So strongly was this the conviction of the Conference that it felt called upon to vary its ordinary mode of procedure, and ordered the report to be recommitted with what was practically a direction to excise the

¹ The then Bishop of Chester, Dr. William Stubbs, since translated to Oxford.
VIDE *Church Quarterly Review*.

proposition for this temporary recognition of non-Episcopal Orders, originating from the Bishop of S. Andrew's, and supported by the present Suffragan of Rochester.

The verdict of Von Döllinger on this episode in the proceedings of the Conference is thus expressed: —

Even the unfortunate attempt to unsettle so fundamental a principle as the indispensableness of the Episcopate to the transmission of the ministerial character and commission, by its complete failure supplied a useful illustration of the general temper of the Conference. It was the passing shadow which enabled us the better to do justice to the landscape.

The absolute and peremptory refusal by an overwhelming majority even so much as to entertain a proposition that seemed to set at nought such an essential characteristic of the Church's Apostolic organization as the Historic Episcopate, in the fullest sense and meaning, must be considered as affording sufficient answer to such unwarranted interpretations of the Lambeth resolution as are stated by Dr. Briggs and supported by the authority of the Assistant-Bishop of Southern Ohio. Our longings for union must not lead us to the surrender of the great trust committed to us as an integral part of the Church Catholic of CHRIST. Concessions involving disloyalty to revealed truths, to Apostolic practice, and to primitive belief, are out of the question. It is not to be expected that the great and overwhelming majority of Christians now living on the earth should abandon the form of Church government which has been theirs "from the Apostles' time," and which they believe to be *jure divino*, with a view of comprehending in their Communion a few most excellent and devoted Christian bodies or individuals who practically recognize no visible Church, who deny the existence of the threefold ministry, who refuse to admit the claims of the Historic Episcopate, and who will not concede the grace of Holy Orders. Thus abandoning the Church's vantage ground, we might, indeed, add to our numbers a small gain, but we should lose the greater possibilities which may GOD, in His good time, enable us to realize in the reunion of Christendom, — the bringing together of all Christian men and peoples in the unity of GOD'S Church.

WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY.

The Historic Episcopate.

RIGHT REV. GEORGE FRANKLIN SEYMOUR, D.D., LL.D.,
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It is evident unto all men diligently reading Holy Scripture, and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of Ministers in CHRIST's Church, — Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. Which Offices were evermore had in such reverend Estimation, that no man might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as are requisite for the same ; and also by public Prayer, with Imposition of Hands, were approved and admitted thereunto by lawful Authority. And therefore, to the intent that these Orders may be continued, and reverently used and esteemed in this Church, no man shall be accounted or taken to be a lawful Bishop, Priest, or Deacon in this Church, or suffered to execute any of the said Functions, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted thereunto, according to the Form hereafter following, or hath had Episcopal Consecration or Ordination. — *Preface to the Ordinal of the Book of Common Prayer.*

Extract from the Canons.

Title 1. Canon 14. No Minister in charge of any Congregation of this Church, or, in case of vacancy or absence, no Churchwardens, Vestrymen, or Trustees of the Congregation, shall permit any person to officiate therein, without sufficient evidence of his being duly licensed, or ordained to minister in this Church : *Provided*, that nothing herein shall be so construed as to forbid communicants of the Church to act as Lay Readers.

I IMAGINE myself surrounded by at least fifty gentlemen, representing as many different Churches, and each and all claiming that their Churches are respectively the most excellent way, if not exclusively the only way, of salvation, so far as we know, opened and prepared by CHRIST. These gentlemen have spoken at greater or less length on the subject of Christian unity, and have spoken well, and in excellent spirit and temper; and now the floor is conceded to me for a brief space, and I am called upon to address the assembly present, and through them

an immense concourse beyond, of Christian brethren of every shade and variety of opinion.

I feel the weight of the responsibility which rests upon me as the champion of what I believe to be the truth; and I am anxious to improve my opportunity to the best advantage to my brethren.

I would, therefore, as far as I can, at the outset, remove prejudice and conciliate kind attention and consideration. Of course I am speaking for myself alone, although I am convinced I express the mind of the Church at whose altars I serve, as the humblest of her ministers, and to whose lawful judgment in this discussion, as in all similar matters, I meekly submit myself.

Again, I must be very brief upon a subject immense in itself, upon which hundreds of books have been written, and which, beside its general interest, is in certain aspects of its relation to Christian unity pressed upon our notice at the present time with great ability by those who have preceded me. I can hope therefore to do little more than write what the lawyers would call "a brief," and my brethren who preach, "sermon notes." I am the more willing to be reconciled to this, to me at least, unsatisfactory presentation of my case in this "symposium," to which we have been so courteously and hospitably invited by the *CHURCH REVIEW*, because I can respectfully ask my brethren one and all, as I now do, to listen to me at much greater length in a paper prepared at the request of the *Church Unity Society*, and published and circulated by their liberality.

Addressing myself then at once to the subject-matter before us, and with a view to clear the ground of that prejudice which arises in most cases, I am persuaded, from misapprehension, I would state that I am convinced that Holy Scripture and ancient authors and the universal practice of Christendom for fifteen hundred years, interpreting that Scripture, teach that *CHRIST* left an *official ministry to represent Him* until He shall come again at the end of the world to judge the quick and the dead; and further that He accredits this ministry to mankind after it has once been instituted and established, not by miraculous attestation at every fresh appointment, but by the only other method by which an office can be perpetuated when intrusted to creatures who must die; namely, by the *principle of succession*. This is the way in which all human governments

of whatever kind are continued while they last in this world. I make this general statement now, because it explains at once my relation to my fifty brethren around me, and the scores outside who stand on the same ground with them, in refusing the Episcopate as the channel through which official authority and power pass. The moment I place the ministry of CHRIST on this basis, — namely, of official relation, — no rational or sane man can complain that he is slighted, or treated with disrespect, because he is not asked to perform, or to attempt to perform, the functions of office to which he can lay no claim. I may be in error as regards my conviction of the character of the Christian ministry, — that is an entirely different question, and my brethren may be able to show me my mistake; but while I conscientiously believe as I do, I cannot be justly charged with presumption or exclusiveness or narrowness or disrespect, because I do not invite my brethren to attempt to do what I am persuaded they have no right to do if they could, and am satisfied they cannot do if they would.

Would any one feel aggrieved if he were the guest of the Governor of the State, and was not asked to put his signature to pardons, or Acts of the Legislature? Would he in such a case consider that a slight was put upon his penmanship? Could any one with justice cry out, "Narrow, bigoted, exclusive!" if he, without being invested with the office, were to insist upon discharging the duties of any department of the civil service of our country, and in consequence was not allowed to do so? Would such prohibition raise any question as to his social standing, his learning, his excellence in character and morals? Could any one in reason take offence at the Governor or the Mayor or any other official person neglecting, or declining to do what he could not lawfully do? This is precisely in my judgment our relation to our brethren who refuse from whatever cause Episcopal ordination. The Preface to our Ordinal formulates the doctrine, and our Canons enjoin the practice.

I assure our brethren that this refusal to permit them to minister at our altars and officiate in our Churches is with me and such as agree with me, — and we are persuaded that whoever will read our Ordinal and our Canons will be convinced that we represent the mind of the Church, — this refusal is no question of comity or good-breeding; *it is simply a question of principle.* It cannot possibly be construed, if the Church's position be

understood, as reflecting in any way upon our brethren, save and excepting as regards their lack of official character. We are ready to concede to them everything, — intelligence, learning, culture, piety, good works, the Christian graces; but we cannot allow, as we read GOD's Word, and are instructed by GOD's Church, — we cannot allow that they have received and hold the office which qualifies them to represent GOD, act in GOD's stead. In this conviction we may be mistaken; but while we remain thus convinced, we plead that our Church and we are guilty of no incivility in not compromising our principles and stultifying ourselves before GOD and our fellow-men.

Suppose we drop from this position, and say, as some do, that Episcopacy is not of the essence of the ministry, that it is merely a preferred form out of many, and that all are good, but that this is the best, — then I admit on this assumption that our non-Episcopal brethren can make good their charge that it is an impertinence and an affront for us to decline to exchange with their ministers on terms of perfect equality. For those who take this ground, I have no plea to make; their attitude toward our brethren without is, as it seems to me, most offensive, as it makes non-recognition a mere caprice of human legislation, *and rests it upon no principle whatsoever*. Their attitude toward their own Communion is worse than offensive; it is insulting, since it virtually proclaims that they are better than their own Church, of which by voluntary act they became sworn servants, pledging themselves by solemn vow to do her bidding and obey her laws. Let us hope that such — we trust that they are very few — are so carried away by the desire to be liberal and broad and popular that they become blind to the effect of their own conduct, and can no longer see themselves as others see them. I entreat our brethren to be convinced that our Ordinal and our Canons place the matter on its true basis, — *that of principle*, — and that we mean no more offence to them in declining to ask them to officiate in our Churches than the President of the United States does in failing to ask, or if requested so to do, in refusing to allow others to share with him in the discharge of the duties of the executive mansion. It is no courtesy; it is no incivility; it is simply an impossibility.

In reference to "the Historic Episcopate," which I represent, it is my duty, as it is my pleasure, to say to my fifty or one hundred or two hundred brethren, representing as many different

systems of doctrine or practice, each claiming to be the best, as it ought, if not the only system for the religious training of man, — it is my duty and my pleasure to say to them: “Gentlemen, brethren, as we stand here before the world the busy world, absorbed in the present, ignorant of the past, we are antecedently, before a word is uttered by any of us in our own behalf, *all on an equality*. No one of us can claim precedence over his companions by virtue of self-assertion, which will be for one moment listened to by the public. Can we find a test, then, which will be alike fair to all, and which can be at once understood and appreciated by all? I think we can. Certainly, if our ecclesiastical systems are, as we think, the ecclesiastical systems established by CHRIST and vindicated as His by Holy Scripture and the practice of His Apostles, then they ought to have clear, distinct, and unmistakable organic connection through the ages all along with CHRIST and His Apostles. For we cannot conceive that our LORD'S pledge and promise would fail; and we have His express word that ‘the gates of hell shall not prevail against His Church.’ We cannot conceive that His Church, organized and established by Himself, would soon disappear, like a subterranean stream, and remain hidden from human eye and human knowledge for fifteen hundred years, and then reappear to gladden mankind with its presence. We cannot believe that the golden chain of ministry, sacrament, and practice, forged and constructed by the Divine hand, was attached to the staple, CHRIST, and then, after a few links were added, was suddenly broken off and dropped, and disappeared to sight and sense for ages, and then was found, or was claimed to be found, by one and another, each in his own way, and on the responsibility of his own unsupported assertion. We cannot believe this, and can scarcely comprehend how any one else can believe it; hence I propose as a test to my brethren that we shall all in the sight of the great public embark in the ship ‘History,’ and sail away from the present moment back into the distant past; that our haven shall be the Mount of the Ascension, and our risen LORD, standing there in our glorified humanity, ready to enter heaven and occupy the throne of GOD; that we shall sail thither, if we can, that we may attach what we each severally claim to be the golden chain of CHRIST'S Church to His Divine Person, and vindicate its authenticity and unbroken continuity in the sight of the world, since all can watch our voyage, as we

recede from the shore and pass through the waves of years and centuries to the august hour when the great Head of the Church gave His charter to His deputies, to act under Him and on His behalf, and made provision for the continuance of their office until He should come again at the end of the world. Of course, as we go back, and come to the date when our respective systems first appear, we necessarily leave the ship; we cannot claim to be passengers before we were born." If this test be accepted, and I cannot see why it is not perfectly just, then we must all present ourselves upon the deck, a great crowd, in the sight of those now living, and bid them good-by, as we take our departure, and start upon our voyage into the past. The test begins to operate forthwith, and thin out our goodly company. It is surprising that the first to disappear is one whom we would scarcely have expected to go so soon; it is no less a Communion than the Church of Rome. She is the latest sect of any importance among the divisions of Christendom. She broke away from her own past and Catholic polity in the year 1870. Then by formal act she disowned CHRIST'S charter, which vests the government of His Church in a *corporation*, and superseded it by a charter of human invention, her own, which converts His government into a *monarchy*. This is *revolution*,—a new departure and a novel invention. It changes a branch of the Catholic Church into a sect, as it violates and practically repeals the fundamental organic law of that Church, the Body of CHRIST. It is not development in any sense of that term; it is revolution, pure and simple. I am well aware that the *pious opinions*, as they were called, concerning the supremacy and infallibility of the Pope, had grown to be almost universal in the Roman Communion prior to 1870, but they were not required as of faith. Then at that date these pious opinions were formulated into dogmas, added to an already enlarged Creed, and enjoined upon the faithful to be believed under pain of excommunication. From that moment the Church of Rome, I claim, broke with *her own past*, and with the polity of the co-ordinate Apostolate, continued in the co-ordinate Episcopate as established by our LORD, and became a *sect*. She is therefore the first to leave us. In succession others must follow, sometimes singly, sometimes in companies of two and three, until at length the decks are deserted, and in A. D. 1500, those who own "the Historic Episcopate" are left alone upon the ship.

We reach, as I firmly believe, our haven, the Mount of the Ascension, and our object, CHRIST. In our presence, — that is, in the presence of the eleven Apostles, whom we succeed and represent, — we hear Him proclaim and enjoin His charter, as of perpetual obligation, in these words preserved for us by the HOLY GHOST: " All power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth; go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the NAME of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world" [S. Matt. xxviii. 18-20]. Here we have clearly brought out into bold relief: (a) *The source and channel of the power*; namely, from the GODHEAD through our perfected humanity in the person of the eternal SON. (b) *The extent of the power*, its plenitude, " all power in heaven and in earth." (c) *The form of government*, the *politeia*, under which the delegated power was to be exercised, — a corporation, not a monarchy; eleven men, not one; all the Apostles, not S. Peter; no one before the others, but all abreast, on an equality, in co-ordination; they are addressed throughout, without any distinction or difference, in the *plural number*. (d) *The extent of the jurisdiction of the government*, thus vested in a corporation, as to space, the whole earth, " all nations." (e) *Its duration* as to time, " always, unto the end of the world." (f) *The purposes* of the government, the ministry of the Word and Sacraments, teaching in its widest sense, baptism, and " the breaking of the bread," for this was one of the things which JESUS commanded. (g) *The limitations* under which these delegated powers of government were to be exercised, *first*, in dependence upon the Divine Head, — " lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." *Second*, in mutual dependence upon each other, they are not to go off on their own individual lines, each by himself; they are to act in co-ordination. They received from their Divine Master *jointly*; and they and their successors are always to hold and exercise and hand on what they received *jointly*. *Third*, they were restrained as to what they were to teach and do. They must keep within the bounds of CHRIST's prescription, " teaching them," He says, " to observe all things *whatsoever I have commanded you*." Not what they pleased, but what He willed; not their own inventions, but His commands. (h) And finally this corporation, thus created, *was official*, not

personal in its character, since our Blessed LORD expressly pledges Himself that He will shelter it with His presence forever: "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."

That CHRIST intended an office to be understood by His words is clearly shown by the action and language of these very Apostles who heard Him utter them. Within ten days afterward they filled the vacancy of Judas by the choice of S. Matthias; and in doing so, they contemplate a vacant office and quote the Blessed SPIRIT, speaking by the prophet, as a witness of the fact. S. Peter says, referring to Judas, "He was numbered with us, and had obtained *part of this ministry*" [Acts i. 17]. And still further, as the reason for choosing S. Matthias: "For it is written in the book of Psalms, Let his habitation be desolate, and let no man dwell therein; and his bishoprick [margin, — *office, or charge*] let another take" [Acts i. 20]. Here, then, we have the co-ordinate Apostolate, the highest and as yet the only Order in the Christian ministry, if we may anticipate the use of the phrase before the Church was born, waiting for the day of Pentecost to exercise their office, as soon as by Divine permission, in the reception of the HOLY SPIRIT, "the promise of the FATHER," they had the sign from above that they were allowed to act. The Church began her career with the *highest* Order of the ministry, the Apostles, who possessed *all the powers* necessary for the government and administration of CHRIST'S flock. After a time there came development, but it was *downward, not upward*. This statement needs to be repeated, because there are few points upon which there has arisen greater misconception than there has upon this. We are told that the Church started out with parity of Orders, and that in the time of Tertullian we have the *summus sacerdos*, and a little later the Cyprianic Bishop; and so human ambition manifests itself in developing the ministry *upward* until it reaches prelacy. Now all this, except the original parity of Orders, is purely imaginary; it is directly contrary to the recorded facts. It is true the ministry, as CHRIST left the earth, and as the day of Pentecost found it, was in *one Order*, but it was the *highest, and not the lowest*, and was endowed with all the powers necessary for the government and administration of the Church until the return of the Divine Head at the last great day. There came development very soon under the direction and at the hands of the highest Order, the Apostles. It was a develop-

ment *downward* in the Deacon and the Elder or Presbyter or Bishop. These *three Orders* complete the Christian ministry in its fully developed form, and as such, I believe, it was intended to represent, and does represent, CHRIST officially,—CHRIST in His *three* offices of Prophet, Priest, and King.

Equally fallacious is the theory that at first we have parochial Episcopacy, or parity of Orders, or Presbyterian Church government, and then without the survival of any protest, we have this alleged original primitive Divine system supplanted by Diocesan Episcopacy; and then this passes by the law of development into *Popery*. I must demur to this sketch of a supposed transition upward from parity to Popery by remarking that it is contrary to GOD's Word, that it makes Presbyterianism responsible not only for prelacy, but also for Popery, since it will be observed that Episcopacy is simply a stage of transition through which the seeds of error and abuse inherent in Presbyterianism pass in their growth to their flower and fruit in Romanism. Now I am willing to allow that the system of John Calvin is responsible for a great deal which had far better never have been; but I must insist that it is innocent of this alleged offence. The parity of Orders provided by CHRIST for His Church before she was born, protects her by Divine metes and bounds against this process of centralization reaching its culmination in placing all authority and power *in one*. CHRIST reserves that place and that dignity for Himself alone. He blocks the way against such an impious and sacrilegious invasion of the prerogatives of His throne on high by *introducing* His Apostolate,—a corporation of eleven men, passing officially into the Historic Episcopate as the nearest permitted approach to Him on earth and in time in His offices. The Apostolate, and its official equivalent, the Episcopate, is the great invincible foe of Rome. She has no place in her present polity for either, save as a name, the shadow of a reality, which she has expelled from her system.

The demand is often made by our brethren to show them Diocesan Episcopacy in the New Testament. This demand, I am confident, is urged without reflection. Diocesan Episcopacy presents for our contemplation an essential thing, with its accidents. The office, Episcopacy, is the *essential thing*; Diocesan embraces the *accidents*. I am not contending for the accidents, but for the essential thing. The Church was not born on the day of Pentecost clad with her beautiful garments, with a

numerous laity ready for organization, with buildings prepared for occupancy, and all the instruments of public worship waiting to be used. All that she possessed in the way of equipment for work by direct Divine appointment and gift were the old economy, soon to vanish away, as a witness, in spite of the Jews, of the truth of the new economy of CHRIST, the Old Testament Scriptures, testifying of JESUS and His Body the Church, and the Apostolate, His deputies, viceroys representing Him to the fullest extent that He vouchsafed to be represented on earth and in time, and whose seed was in itself to perpetuate itself and develop itself under the guidance of the HOLY GHOST in inferior Orders of Presbyter and Deacon. This was what was supplied to the Church at her birth for the work which she was given to do. It was the business of her duly accredited Apostolate and the ministries which they called into being to create a laity by preaching and the administration of the Sacraments, to govern them and organize them ultimately into a normal ecclesiastical system, to provide a statement of doctrine as a security against fundamental error, and to complete or superintend the completion of the records of revelation in the addition of the New Testament to the Old. Diocesan Episcopacy came afterward, or if it began to exist in the Apostles' time, it was in exceptional cases, where the circumstances were favorable for a settled order of things, as in Jerusalem and Ephesus. The Apostles were never Diocesan Bishops in our modern sense of the term. Their jurisdiction and work bring them more nearly to our pioneer missionary Bishops, such as Selwyn in New Zealand, and the heroic men who are taking in charge at the present time vast tracts of savage Africa. The Apostles, it is often said, can have no successors, and hence Bishops cannot inherit from them. In their personal relations to our LORD as chosen by Him, as living with Him during His ministry, as witnesses of His death and resurrection, this is perfectly true; and no one, except possibly the Irvingites, would be, so far as I know, disposed to deny it. But aside from their *personal* relation to our LORD, the Apostles were invested by Him with an office; and this office He tells us with the last words which He uttered on earth He saw passing down the ages, and so seeing it, He promised to be with it to the end of the world. In reference to this office our contention is that the Apostles have successors. George Washington in his

personal relation to these United States, as the Commander-in-chief of the army during our Revolutionary struggle, who under GOD brought the war to a successful termination,— George Washington, “the Father of his Country,” can have no successors; but George Washington in his *official* relation to this Republic, thank GOD, has successors. He was not only the Father of his Country, but he was also the President of the United States. It is the office which passes, not the personality.

But I hear the murmur, “The name ‘episcopos,’ bishop, was in the New Testament applied to *the second Order*, who served under the Apostles, and were also called Elders, Presbyters;” and hence I am told, “The nomenclature of the New Testament is against you, and the allegation for which you stand,— that the Historic Episcopate carries on the Apostolic office, and brings it down to us.” My contention is not about words, but about things. I freely admit that the name “episcopos” was used at first to describe an Elder. But am I to tell my brethren, as an unheard-of thing, that in the course of time words have been known to change their meaning and their applications? That “parish,” for example, and “diocese” in ecclesiastical language mean very different things to our ears from what they did to S. Basil. What I maintain is that the Divine records plainly show us that the Apostles had co-laborers working with them in the same office, and that under them and their colleagues there were, besides, two distinct Orders of Divine appointment as created by them, who acted by direction of the HOLY GHOST; and that then writers who were contemporaries with the Apostles supplement the teaching of Holy Scripture by showing us that universally the Church in their day put the practical interpretation upon GOD’s Word that its meaning was that the sacred ministry was constituted in three Orders,— those, namely, of Bishop, Presbyter, and Deacon,— and that the ministry was continued by succession at the hands of the *first or highest Order*.

This gives me a living Church, bound together in time as one by a network of innumerable strands, crossing and recrossing one another until thought is confused in contemplating the greatness of the security which Apostolic and Nicene Canons give us to guard the continuity of Holy Orders. The succession is not the succession of links in a chain, to be counted one by one, nor as our lineal descent to be reckoned back by a multiple of two, but beyond this, the succession brings in at each

remove an increase multiplied by three. But then there comes the cry, "Tactual succession!" It is not a murmur; it is a derivative cry, "Tactual succession, can that convey grace?" I answer yes, if GOD so wills; and I am fully convinced that He does so will, because He rules the New Dispensation, our Christian system, by the law of the *Incarnation*, — the law, namely, that GOD in the person of His Eternal SON comes to us through the *agency of matter*, — and hence I would anticipate, as I find verified in the event, that all subordinate blessings, so far as I know, in His Kingdom, and all other blessings, are subordinate to the gift of JESUS CHRIST, are conveyed to me through the *instrumentality of matter*. Indeed, I will venture to ask my friends who seem to be so shocked at the idea of tactual succession conveying spiritual gifts, — I will ask them to name to me a single blessing which they have ever possessed in the spheres of body, mind, or spirit, which has been bestowed upon them without the intervention of matter. I frankly state that, so far as I am concerned, I know of none. The Historic Episcopate, I am told, includes in its roll of countless names many bad men, and the Church which they represent has been at times and for long periods depraved and vile. Alas! the charge is only too sadly true. But what is that supposed to prove? Surely not that the wicked rulers and bad people destroy GOD'S Church; if so, then under the old covenant GOD'S Church must have come to nought many times; but not so, it survived the profanity of Aaron's and Eli's sons, the degeneracy of the days of Elijah, and the awful impiety of the epoch of the captivity. Such reasoning is fallacious and misleading, and must not be listened to for one moment. The Prophets refute it, and our Blessed LORD settles the matter, when He draws the distinction between the office and the persons who hold it, and demands respect and obedience for the one, and solemnly warns against the other. Addressing the multitude and His disciples, JESUS says, "The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat; all therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works: for they say and do not" [S. Matt. xxiii. 2, 3]. Elsewhere He draws the character of these same scribes and Pharisees in the darkest colors, and denounces them with the severest maledictions. The same observation applies to all that the Church hands on and down to us, — the imperfections, nay, the monstrous sins of individual members, or

even of large portions of the flock, do not necessarily vitiate and destroy the heritage thus transmitted. The Nicene Creed is not in the least degree affected by the disgraceful character and conduct of some members of the Council of Nice and the corruption of the fourth century. It is not without its purpose for persons who insist that the channel through which Divine gifts come to us must be as pure as the gifts themselves, to study the genealogy of our Blessed LORD as presented by S. Matthew, and find, as they will, that "Judas begat Phares and Zara of Thamar," and farther on, that "Salmon begat Booz of Rachab." It would not be unprofitable for such persons to reflect that their logic, if they are consistent, will compel them to affix their signatures to the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

While speaking of the Creeds, another matter presses: I find that some of my brethren object to the Apostles' Creed, *first*, on the ground that in its present form it is of later date than the Apostles; *second*, that it is an imperfect or incomplete statement of Divine truth; and *third*, that it contains the article, "He descended into hell," which some of them tell us they do not believe, because when our LORD went to hell, or hades, He went *up*, not *down*. To remove these difficulties, if possible, let me suggest that the Divine records prove that the Apostles at the very outset must have formulated their teaching into some condensed form which could be easily recited and retained in memory, since we learn [Acts ii. 42] that the believers baptized on the day of Pentecost "continued in the Apostles' *doctrine*." It is not pretended that the Apostles' Creed as we have it now is precisely in so many words the same form which the Apostles prepared and taught to their converts; but it is substantially the same, and their name is very properly given to the Creed, because it represents the essentials of their teaching. This practice is so common that it scarcely needs illustration; "Ciceronian Latin," "the Athanasian Creed," "the Monroe Doctrine," will serve as examples in as many different spheres of human affairs,—literature, religion, and politics.

That the Apostles' Creed is incomplete as a protection against heresy is shown by the presence of the Nicene, and in some branches of the Church of the Athanasian Creed. These together formulate the doctrine relative to the Blessed Trinity, the person and natures of CHRIST, the Divinity and personality

of the HOLY SPIRIT, the Church and her notes, and the necessary things which the Incarnation secures for mankind,— the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting. The purpose of the Creeds was to keep the essentials of the Faith ever present in the memories and ever fresh upon the lips of believers; and hence they were incorporated into the offices of Matins and Evensong and into the Divine Liturgy. They were made a part of public worship. Their recitation aloud secured that confession with the mouth which GOD expects, nay, demands from those who believe with the heart. The Creeds are incomplete, as setting forth schemes of theology, or as some would express it, bodies of divinity. They were never designed to do this; but as it is, they teach vastly more than the superficial Christian imagines, and they imply vastly more than they teach.

The illustration of this last remark brings me to what some of our friends very seriously and earnestly object to; the article, namely, "He descended into hell." A very distinguished member of the company whom I am primarily addressing, uses this to me most astounding language: "I deem the Apostles' Creed wrong in saying that our LORD *descended* into hell, or hades. He went to *Paradise*; and when Paul went to Paradise, he was caught *up*." I believe that article of the Apostles' Creed was derived from a false interpretation of 1 S. Peter iii. 19 in the third century." The words under consideration—"He descended into hell"—undoubtedly do not appear in the earlier forms of the Apostles' Creed, and it may be that the passage from S. Peter may have been employed to prove the truth of the fact alleged; but their introduction came from a natural expansion of the article, "He was buried,"—for the burial of a man means more than the burial of a brute; it includes in the thought of a Christian the return of the body to the dust and of the spirit to the GOD who gave it. This was true of our LORD, as S. Peter expressly tells us in the first Christian sermon which he preached on the day of Pentecost [Acts ii. 31]. He quotes from the Sixteenth Psalm, and makes the following comment: David, he says, "being a prophet and knowing that GOD had sworn with an oath to him that of the fruit of his loins, according to the flesh, He would raise up CHRIST to sit on his throne; He seeing this before spake of the resurrection of CHRIST, that His soul was not left in hell, neither His flesh did see corruption." Here

S. Peter expressly distinguishes between the flesh and the soul of our Blessed LORD; and he rests his distinction upon the authority of the HOLY GHOST, and upon the same authority he affirms that our Blessed LORD'S soul went to hell, or hades, but was not left there, but returned to His body, and He rose from the dead. The article, therefore, "He descended into hell," is inevitably implied in its predecessor, "He was buried," because the Creed is speaking of *the man CHRIST JESUS*. It was drawn out and added, doubtless to refute a heresy which was spreading, which denied that our LORD had a reasonable soul, alleging that the Divine Personality supplied the place of the human soul. To withdraw the article, "He descended into hell," therefore, from the Apostles' Creed now is to obscure, if it be not to deny the perfect humanity of CHRIST. As to the expressions, "He descended, or ascended," they are, we all know, accommodations to our present condition, and not absolute terms. S. Paul [Eph. iv 9, 10], speaking of CHRIST, says, "Now that He ascended, what is it but that He also descended first into the lower parts of the earth? He that descended is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens, that He might fill all things." Such language then is used of CHRIST by the HOLY SPIRIT; and let the interpretation of "the lower parts of the earth" be what it may, the Incarnation, the burial, or the descent into hell, or hades, it serves my purpose just as well, since we learn from them that our LORD did descend; and after He was risen from the dead we learn on His own authority that He had not yet *gone up*, for He says to Mary Magdalene on the morning of His resurrection [S. John xx. 17]: "Touch me not; for I am not yet ascended to my FATHER: but go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my FATHER and your FATHER, and to my GOD and your GOD." My very learned friend had not his Greek Testament at hand when he in an incautious moment built an argument, or rather rested his rejection of the article of the Apostles' Creed, "He descended into hell, or hades," upon the statement of S. Paul that he was caught *up* into Paradise as it appears in our English Version. S. Paul does not say that he was caught *up*; the "up" is an interpretation of our translators. S. Paul says simply that he was *caught, snatched* into Paradise.

One word about the Nicene Creed. It is objected that it enters into philosophical speculation, and that we should be con-

tent with the Scripture statement that "the Word is GOD." The primitive Church was content with Scripture statements to embody the truth, but alas! man finds out many inventions. He invented a subtle philosophy to deprave and destroy the truth; and this philosophy assailed the truth of truths in the plan of human redemption, the corner-stone of the Catholic Faith, the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST. No Scripture phrase could be found which the champions of that heresy would not accept and evade. They must be met and vanquished on their own ground; and the single word, "*homoousion*," was the weapon whose thrust they could not parry; it proved to be a barrier which they could not pass. There is here no more philosophy than is needed to shut out the most destructive heresy which ever invaded the fold of CHRIST.

Surely there is not so much philosophy involved in the argument of the homoousion that this age and my learned brethren need fear that they or their people will be bewildered in its mazes. This word simply asserts of the SON that He is of the same essence or substance with the FATHER; and as the attributes of any essence or substance must go with that essence or substance wherever it is found, it follows of necessity that if the SON be of the same substance with the FATHER, He must have the attributes of the FATHER. One of these attributes is eternal. The FATHER is eternal; hence the SON must be eternal. This was the point in dispute. The Arian denied the eternity of CHRIST's being; and this denial carried with it everything, — the Trinity, the atonement, the merits of our LORD'S death. It left man where the Fall left him, stripped, naked, wounded, cast down, defenceless, helpless. Homoousion shut out this heresy and barred the way forever against its return. Is there too much philosophy in this? Not for me. Thank GOD for the Nicene Creed! Thank GOD for the Catholic Church, which with her living voice has rung out this Creed from age to age to guard our heritage of redemption through a Saviour, who is CHRIST our GOD! Thank GOD for the Historic Episcopate, the spinal cord of the Catholic Church, which carries down from the Divine Head — CHRIST our LORD, GOD over all in heaven — the gifts of the HOLY GHOST, and diffuses them through orders and sacraments and services, as nervous vitality permeates the body and fills it with life from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot! Thank GOD for the Historic Episcopate, which guards, as it has guarded, the

sacred deposit which CHRIST committed to His Apostolate on the Mount of the Ascension, with the charge that they should keep it even to the end! The treasures are not for ourselves alone; they are a sacred trust for mankind. We hold them to guard them, not as hoarding them, but that we may have them in possession to share with our brethren if they will receive them at our hands. With joy unspeakable will we welcome them to our FATHER's house, and give them freely and fully the best that is in that house; but we may not unroof the house and tear up its foundations that we may enjoy their society. If Holy Orders and Sacraments and Creed and Liturgy be gifts which come from the LORD, we may not, must not, compromise them or throw them away, since then we shall be faithless, disloyal stewards, and so far as we could do so will banish these gifts from the face of the earth and put it beyond the power of our brethren afterward, however much they may covet them, to obtain them.

My time is up, and I must stop and leave so many things unsaid which I fain would say that I feel as though I must go on; but necessity constrains, and I forbear with a parting word to my friends. Some of them have intimated, and others more plainly said, that if the cause of Christian unity requires them to surrender their position or take a step which reflects upon their ancestry in their specific belief and practice, and especially, where they have such, the great founders of their systems or Churches, they will not entertain the idea for one moment. Let me ask any man who values his reputation for fidelity to truth and principle whether in the sight of GOD and as responsible to his own conscience he dare occupy such a position. On these terms error would never be abandoned, truth would never be embraced. On these terms the heathen would never have forsaken their idols and become Christians; on these terms the Reformers would never have left what they believed to be the corruptions and abuses of their own age and country and gone forth on new lines and become the great leaders whom our friends delight to follow, and whose persons they hold in most sincere admiration. Let me point my brethren to these Reformers as examples in this respect of our duty. At all events, they shall be mine. For me, nothing must count in preference to truth.

GEORGE F. SEYMOUR.

The Holy Scriptures as the Basis of Church Unity.

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AS I am to write of the Holy Scriptures as the Basis of Church Unity, it would seem proper to preface what I have to say by a brief consideration of the problems and difficulties to be met, bearing always in mind the existing evils and the end to be accomplished.

Leaving out of account for the present the Oriental Church, including as it does nearly one third of the professing Christians of the world, we have around us three distinct bodies or classes of persons to be considered.

1. We have those who adhere to and advocate the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome as essential to Church Unity; they hold that our LORD made S. Peter the Prince of the Apostles, and gave him not only presidency, but authority also over the others, and through them, over the whole Church of believers in Him; that S. Peter became Bishop of Rome and transmitted to his successors through all time the presidency and the supremacy which he had exercised. And recently his adherents have declared that he is infallible whenever he speaks authoritatively and in his official capacity; so that no one can have any reasonable hope of final salvation who does not accept and follow his decrees.

2. Then we have what are called ultra-Protestants, who hold that when our LORD spoke of building His Church [Matt. xvi. 18] He did not refer to any visible organized body of those that should believe in Him, but rather to an invisible number, known only to Himself; that He caused His Gospel to be preached, and finally to be committed to writing, leaving the believers to organize themselves into Churches, as many and as various in form and discipline as they might think most expedient and conducive to the welfare and final salvation of men. They do not regard "the Historic Episcopate" or any other form of a

ministry that has any visible or tactual connection with the Apostles, or the ministry our LORD ordained and sent to preach His Gospel, as at all necessary.

3. Then in the third place we have a class of Christians who claim to have "the Historic Episcopate" with an actual and a tactual line of descent from the Apostles. They hold that the Church spoken of by our LORD [Matt. xvi. 18; xviii. 17] and often referred to in the Acts and Epistles [Acts iii. 47; 1 Tim. iii. 15] was a visible and organized body.

In fact, this view is inevitably implied, if indeed it is not expressly stated in the Declaration of our House of Bishops [*General Convention*, 1886, p. 80]: "We do hereby affirm that the Christian Unity now so earnestly desired . . . can be restored only by a return of all Christian Communions to the principles of unity exemplified by the undivided Catholic Church during the first ages of its existence; which principles we believe to be the substantial deposit of Christian Faith and Order committed by CHRIST and His Apostles to the Church unto the end of the world, and therefore incapable of compromise or surrender by those who have been ordained to be its stewards and trustees for the common and equal benefit of all men."

But the views of the Holy Scriptures entertained by them (which is the subject now more especially before us) differ quite as much among these bodies or classes of Christians we have named, as they themselves do in regard to the Church which our LORD founded. And in fact this diversity of views in regard to the Scriptures is, if not fundamental, yet essential to the diversity of their views in regard to the Church itself.

The advocates of the Papal claims hold that besides what is contained in the Holy Scriptures, there are traditions outside of their teachings, and especially such as have received the approval and sanction of the Pope, that are as essential and as necessary to salvation as the things that are contained in the Scriptures themselves.

Then the extreme Protestants hold on the other hand that the Bible alone is the guide for Christian believers, — that each one is to take it, study it, and interpret it for himself as best he can, under the influence of prayer and the guidance of the HOLY GHOST. They scarcely hold to any "Church

authority" in the proper sense of the word. They do indeed hold to and see the necessity of Church regulations, such as each pastor or congregation may make as a matter of expediency and as conducive to edification.

Then finally we have those holding a somewhat middle ground,—like that of the Protestant Episcopalians, who, as it will be remembered, proposed the four conditions of union, one of which we are considering. They hold and expressly declare (Art. VI.) that "the Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation." But they also hold that there are many things spoken of or alluded to in the Holy Scriptures which are essential, in some one form or another, to any Church organization, to the preaching of the Gospel, and to the administration of the Sacraments, which are not expressly stated in the Scriptures. And they hold that the safest and most proper guide to a right understanding and observance of these things is what may be called tradition; that is, the records that have come down to us outside of the Scriptures,—such as notes of usages, canons, and opinions of early Fathers.

If we turn our attention to the Old Testament Scriptures we find that although, as it now appears, there may have been portions of the earlier books in existence before the time of Moses, yet that the books, from first to last, from Genesis to Malachi, with the possible exception of the book of Job, were written in the Jewish Church, by members of the Church, and after its organization by Moses in the wilderness, and after the priests and Levites had been set apart not only for the administration of the worship in the Tabernacle, but also to be the instructors and guides of the people in matters that pertain to their Faith and religion as well as in regard to their duties as men and citizens; and that all these books, with, as before said, the possible exception of Job, were written for their instruction and guidance in their responsible and arduous duties as priests and ministers.

If now we turn our attention to the New Testament Scriptures, we find very much the same result. We find that our LORD declared, some time before He died, His intention to build His Church on the confession of His Divine Nature which S. Peter had just made. He soon after, as it appears from S. Matthew's record, gave to His Apostles extensive

power, not only of legislation, but of discipline as well, subordinate of course to any instruction He had given them or might thereafter give them [Matt. xvi. and xviii. 15-21]. Then in Acts [ii. 47] we find the Church spoken of as already existing and established, so that "the LORD added to the Church daily such as should be saved," — or were being saved.

The Apostles went forth and preached the Gospel as they were commanded; and it was not until some twenty years at least after their mission that any part of the Holy Scriptures of the New Testament as we now have them were written.

Our LORD, so far as we have any record of the words He uttered, never gave them any charge to *write* anything. They were to preach and proclaim by word of mouth the Gospel, make disciples of the people among all the nations or races of people on the earth, baptizing and thus bringing into the Church those that should believe the Gospel as they were to preach and to teach it; and the promise was, "Whosoever believeth and *is baptized* shall be saved."

But the earliest attempt to reduce the Gospel to writing, that the Church of the believers might have the benefit of reading it for themselves, did not occur for some twenty years or more after the Gospel had been preached, and Churches — that is, local Churches, as branches of the one Church which our LORD founded and which S. Paul declares to be the pillar and ground, stay or support, "of the truth" [I Tim. iii. 15] — had been established in nearly all parts of the earth.

It is commonly supposed that the very first to be written of the books we now have in our Canon, or collection of Holy Scriptures of the New Testament, was the first of S. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians, about A. D. 52, nineteen years after the Crucifixion. The Gospels as we now have them were not written until somewhat later. It is sometimes claimed, indeed, that S. Matthew wrote, for the converts from Judaism who lived in Palestine, a Gospel in the Hebrew language, or what was called Hebrew at the time. But we have not that Gospel as he wrote it, if ever he wrote one; and what we have is of a later date, say about A. D. 60. And the other Gospels were written later on, until perhaps that of S. John sometime in the last decade of the first century, perhaps A. D. 92.

I think we have satisfactory evidence that there was at a

much earlier date than even the earliest of the Epistles, both a stated form of words for use in the administration of the Holy Supper, and also a "form of sound words" [2 Tim. i. 13], which was used in baptism at least, if not in the Holy Eucharist, and commonly accepted both as an expression and as a test of the faith of those who were to be received and retained in the holy fellowship of the Apostolic Church; dissent from which was "heresy" in the technical sense, while divisions and contentions among those who were still retained in the Church was called schism; and S. John speaks of some who "went out from" that fellowship as being in some sense "anti-CHRIST" [1 John ii. 18].

But the Scriptures that have come down to us were all of them, or at least nearly all of them, written for a local—I will not say a temporary—purpose. Thus S. Matthew is commonly held to have written primarily and chiefly for the Christian converts from Judaism who lived in Palestine. S. Mark, though with less unanimity of agreement, is said to have written under the immediate guidance of S. Peter, and at Alexandria for the Christians who were living in that part of Africa; while S. Luke's Gospel is said to have been written at Rome under the special guidance of S. Paul. S. Paul's Epistles, as is well known, and is also manifest from the Epistles themselves, were written to local Churches,—as that at Rome, that at Corinth, etc.,—and were more or less intended for the discussion and settlement of questions which, if not of a temporary nature, were yet specially interesting and important for those to whom the letters were addressed. This remark applies with special force to the Epistles to Timothy, to Titus, and to Philemon.

Yet doubtless what these holy and inspired men wrote was (for the most part shall I say? 1 Cor. vii. 40) dictated by the HOLY SPIRIT, and remains as of inestimable value as indicating what was "the substantial deposit of Christian Faith and Order committed by CHRIST and His Apostles to the Church unto the end of the world," to quote again the declarations of our House of Bishops on this subject. But the fact was and is, that the Gospel was preached for many years before it was written and committed to writing as Holy Scripture at all; and the Church was founded and organized in some form or another, and more or less completely in all the larger cities and coun-

tries of the Roman Empire, which then included pretty much the whole world.

The controlling fact is that the Apostles and the ministry themselves were not only to preach the Gospel, but they were also to organize the Church, or local branches of it, one in each city or province. When the writers of the Holy Scriptures speak of this matter at all, it is either by way of allusion to what had been done, or by way of instruction to some one who had been ordained, and received authority for the work of organizing Churches, selecting and ordaining Elders and Deacons, as well as giving directions for their professions of the Faith,—for their worship and the principles of the godly life which they were to observe and enforce.

Herein we have the reason why there is to be found in the New Testament no express or full description of the Church, its organization, and its methods. The people for whom the Scriptures were written, with the exception of the two or three books I have just mentioned, had nothing to do with organizing the Church. It was not their work or duty. They could not do it. It was done for them by the Apostles whom our LORD had chosen for that purpose, and to whom He gave the command to go and teach all nations to observe whatsoever he had commanded them. And as in the cases of Timothy and Titus at least, we find that the Apostles gave like authority to others, uninspired men whom they chose for the work.

The several books of the New Testament Scriptures, thus written, began at a very early date to be collected into a whole, in several at least of the great centres of Christian population, as Antioch, Alexandria, and Carthage. But we have no definite information in regard to this collection. We have indeed a few hints in the Holy Scriptures themselves in regard to the circulation of these Scriptures, the desire to get them, and the anxiety to read and understand them [Col. iv. 16; Luke i. 1-5; Acts i.; 2 Peter iii. 16].

But it is most natural that the Christians in any one city should be extremely anxious as soon as they had heard of any writing by one of the Apostles, or perhaps by any one so intimately associated with any one of them as to be specially valuable as a teacher, to get a copy of the work, epistle, or gospel, as the case might be. And thus, as we know, collections began to be made in a large number of places; these

collections, at the earliest date at which we can get any certain information concerning them, differed in some less important details from one another. And in some few cases, books not now received into our Canon, as the Epistles of Clement and of Barnabas, were received and read in the public worship; while others that we do now receive had not been received, or at least adopted as part of their sacred Scriptures in some few of the early collections that we know of.

We have, indeed, early lists of the books received, and there were two or three attempts by local and provincial synods to define the Canon. But there was no such action by any one of the General Councils of the Universal Church.

And yet the Church in the most important sense, though not acting in any synod, or in its organic capacity, was the judge, and did decide what books should be received. And in this it seems to have been guided by its religious instincts, shall we say? or shall we call it rather that HOLY SPIRIT which was promised to be in the Church and its guide through all time?

If now we turn to the use which the early Christians made of these Scriptures, we have three points to consider.

1. The use they made of them in their public worship. Of course they had no printed copies, as we have, that could be put into every man's hands. Copies were expensive, made only by transcription by the hand. But in the very earliest stage it appears that they were accustomed to read them in their weekly and daily assemblies with the greatest reverence and deference, — very much as we now read Bishops' charges and the pastoral letters of our House of Bishops. Reuss [*History of the Canon*, pp. 32, 138] says that the book of Revelation, which he supposes to have been written earlier than the Gospel by S. John, say A. D. 65–68, was the first of the books now included in our New Testament Canon that was read in public worship as part of Holy Scriptures. Soon, however, the Church began to read from them all, as second lessons in the services, as we do now, and as they were at first accustomed to do from the Prophets of the Old Testament.

2. In the next place, I refer to the early Christian writers who wrote in defence of Christianity, and for the most part against its avowed enemies, Jews and Gentiles, who did not profess to have received Christianity at all in any form or under any name,

—the Apologists, as they are called. Of these we have the names of some twelve or fifteen that have come down to us, although by far the larger part of their writings is lost. In the East we have Julian, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus of Antioch, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen. In Africa and the West we have Tertullian, Minucius Felix, Cyprian, Arnobius, Lactantius, and Irenæus. Of these, two — namely, Irenæus and Tertullian — wrote in defence of the Faith against the early heretics and separatists.

Of those who wrote against the enemies of Christianity, — that is, the unconverted Jews and the heathen, — and in fact, of all of them when writing against these adversaries of Christianity, we must note the fact that although they quote the genuine Scriptures with the utmost reverence and deference, always accepting their statements, whether of fact or of doctrine, as in no way liable to dispute or distrust, they cannot be expected to quote them as they would have done if they were writing to professing Christians of whatever name. Nor yet of course can we expect them to show us very definitely how the Scriptures themselves were regarded by the Church or its members. Their writings are valuable for the purpose now before us, chiefly as showing what books were received and regarded as of authority in the Church; and in this respect they are most invaluable.

3. Turning now to those who wrote against the heresies of those who called themselves and claimed to be Christians, we have especially the two already named, Irenæus and Tertullian.

Irenæus was born and trained in the East, Asia Minor. He had seen, as he says, Polycarp, who was Bishop of Smyrna, and who had been a pupil and personal friend of the Apostle S. John. He became Bishop of Lyons about A. D. 178. The heretics against whom he contends were chiefly those that are now known as Gnostics, — not Agnostics, — who claimed to understand all the doctrines of revelation, and to have a philosophy which taught them many things not to be found in the Holy Scriptures; and they also claimed to interpret the Scriptures and deduce from them many doctrines not generally held in the Church. And while there were many who were either of this number, or inclined to their views, and were thus both heretics and schismatics remaining in the Church, there were also many who, as Irenæus says, "being more anxious to be sophists of

words than disciples of the Truth," separated themselves from the Church, and "assembled themselves in unauthorized meetings" [book iii. c. iii. § 2] of their own and by themselves.

S. Irenæus constantly quotes the Holy Scriptures as unquestionably true and authentic. He also shows how these errorists pervert its true meaning, and attribute to mere incidents of phrase, and even of the letters used, significations and an importance which they do not deserve. He also shows the absurdity and evil tendency of their claims that the Apostles knew and held the views which they teach, but refrained from committing them to writing either in the Gospels or the Epistles which they wrote, because the people were not at that time sufficiently advanced in understanding to accept and appreciate them. They also claimed that these doctrines had been handed down to them by tradition, or revealed by special inspirations and revelations to Valentius and other founders and leaders of their various sects.

S. Irenæus does indeed constantly quote the New Testament Scriptures with the utmost reverence and deference to their authority and their very words; yet he does so in a manner that shows that he regards them—the written word—as subordinate to the Faith as it was delivered to the Church by the Apostles before the Scriptures were written, and handed down to his times, one and the same in each and every one of the Churches,—that is, provincial Churches, which had been founded in the chief or capital city of each province. He writes [book i. c. x. § 1] the Apostles' Creed as we now have it in substance, though not in the exact words. In fact, De Barron has shown in his work, *The Greek Origin of the Apostles' Creed*, that the early Christians never stated the Creed in the exact words in which it was used in the Church and by the initiated, and gives the reason for it [p. 40]. He claims that it was first written in its exact form of words by Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra, about A. D. 341.

But S. Irenæus, as I have said, recites the Creed in substance as we now have it, some one hundred and fifty years before the time of Marcellus. This Creed, he says, "the Church, though dispersed throughout the whole world, even to the ends of the earth, has received from the Apostles and

their disciples." This "Faith," he says [§ 2], "the Church, although scattered throughout the whole world, has received, as if occupying but one and the same house, and carefully preserves it. . . . She believes these points of doctrine, and proclaims them as if she had but one soul, and one and the same heart; and she teaches and hands them down with perfect harmony, as if she had but one mouth; for although the languages are different, yet the tradition in its meaning and import is one and the same. For the Churches which have been planted in Germany, in Spain, in France, in the East, in Egypt, in Libya, or even those that have been established in the central regions of the world, do not differ in the Faith they hold, the Creed they profess. . . . Nor will any one of the rulers of the Churches, however highly gifted he may be in point of eloquence, teach any different doctrine; nor on the other hand, will he who is deficient in power of expression inflict any injury on the tradition." But among the "heretics" and Dissenters, he says, "there are as many schemes of redemption as there are teachers of their opinions" [book i. c. xxi. § 1].

This is a favorite topic with this author, and he frequently recurs to it. Thus, in book iii. [c. i. § 2], he says, "When we refer them to the tradition that originated with the Apostles and is preserved by means of a succession in the ministry in the Churches, they object to tradition. . . . It is in the power of all, therefore [c. iii. § 1], in every Church, who may wish to see the truth, to contemplate clearly the tradition of the Apostles manifested throughout the whole world; and we are in a position to reckon up those who were by the Apostles instituted Bishops in the Churches, and to demonstrate the succession of these men to our own times. . . . Since, however, it would be very tedious to reckon up the succession in all the Churches, we put to confusion . . . those who assemble in unauthorized meetings, by indicating" several of the ancient Churches. And among these as most conspicuous and as being in some sense the centre of the world, he mentions Rome, giving a list of their Bishops from Linus to his own time. (S. Peter is *not* one of the list.) But he mentions also several others, more especially those in the East.

Now, as this idea constantly recurs in the somewhat long essay of Irenæus and pervades his whole discussion, I will cite one or two more passages [book iv. c. xxvi. § 2]: "Wherefore it

is incumbent to obey the ministry of the Church,—those who, as I have shown, possess the succession from the Apostles, those who together with the succession of the Episcopate have received the certain gift of truth, according to the good pleasure of the FATHER. But it is incumbent on us also to hold in suspicion all others who depart from the primitive succession and assemble themselves together" in other places, in "meetings of their own."

Again [book v. c. xx. § 1]: "Now all these heretics are of much later date than the Bishops to whom the Apostles committed the Churches, which fact I have taken all pains to demonstrate in the third book. . . . But the path of duty of those belonging to the Church circumscribes the whole world as possessing the sure tradition from the Apostles, and enables us to see that the Faith of all is one and the same, . . . since all are cognizant of the same spirit, conversant with the same commandments, and preserve the same form of ecclesiastical constitution, and expect the one advent of the LORD, and await the same salvation of the complete man,—that is, of soul and body."

Tertullian fell into some of the errors of the Montanists, though it is generally held that he never separated himself from the communion of the Church. He had been trained a lawyer, and shows the results of that training in the tract of his on *The Prescriptions of Heretics*, from which only I shall make citations. He agrees in general with the views I have cited from Irenæus, though it is most likely that the two men had no personal knowledge of each other's existence,—the one living in Lyons in Gaul, and the other in the north of Africa, at about the same time; that is, the latter part of the second century.

Tertullian takes the same view as Irenæus with regard to the first preaching of Christianity,—the tradition or handing down of the Faith in each of the Churches that had been founded by the Apostles or their immediate successors; but he does not undertake to show to the heretics that the views held by them were contrary to the Scriptures. He takes the ground, on the contrary, that they have no right to appeal to the Scriptures. The Scriptures were written in the Church by members of the Church, and for the use of the disciples that were in the Church and remained in its communion and fellowship, so that they that

had left the Church not only had no right to claim to justify or defend their views by argument and texts derived from it, but that they had no right to use the Scriptures at all; it was no Holy Scriptures for them; their use of it was like that of a citizen of one country, — these United States, for example, — who should cite from and claim as his authority and vindication the laws of another country, as Turkey, Russia, or Germany.

It will be remembered that Tertullian had been a lawyer; and his idea was that heretics who had left the Church should be thrown out of court as having no status, or standing, or right to be heard there [§§ 15-21].

It is indeed quite true that Tertullian does claim that the Scriptures themselves do not teach the doctrines which these heretics hold, and that they are without foundation in the Scriptures themselves when rightly understood. But his main line of argument is that they have no right to exist as Churches or use the Scriptures.

Tertullian gives substantially, though not verbally, the Apostles' Creed as given by S. Irenæus, and makes it, in fact, as he calls it, "The Rule of Faith," by which all doctrines and teachings should be tested.

He says: "Immediately therefore the Apostles, . . . having chosen by lot a twelfth, . . . having throughout Judea borne witness to the Faith, went forth into the world and preached the same doctrine of the same Faith to the nations, and forthwith founded Churches in every city from whom the other Churches thenceforward borrowed the tradition of the Faith and the seeds of doctrine, and are daily deriving them that they may become Churches. Indeed, it is on this account only that they will be able to consider themselves Apostolic, as being the offspring of Apostolic Churches; . . . therefore the Churches, although they are so many and so great, constitute but the one primitive Church founded by the Apostles" [§ 20].

But "if there be any heretics that are bold enough to plant themselves in the midst of the Apostolic age, . . . let them produce the original records of their Churches; let them unfold the roll of their Bishops, extending down in due succession from the beginning in such manner that their first Bishop will be able to show for his ordainer and predecessor some one of the Apostles or of Apostolic men who continued stedfast with the Apostles. For in this manner do all the Apostolic Churches keep their

registers; as the Church of Smyrna, . . . the Church of Rome. In the same way the other Churches exhibit the names of those whom, having been appointed to their Episcopal places by Apostles, they regard as transmitters of Apostolic seed." He mentions several others besides Smyrna and Rome, and says, as Irenæus has done, that there is no one who is not near enough to some one of these centres to consult its Bishop and find out from him what was "the Faith once delivered to the saints," which all Churches must keep and teach as the condition of their remaining in the communion of the One Holy, Apostolic, and Catholic Church.

Tertullian never indeed intimates or hints that this Faith could be any other, or different, from what was and is taught in the Holy Scriptures. But in his view, as in that of Irenæus, the Faith, the tradition, the doctrine, handed down in these Churches by all and everywhere, was the test, the thing first to be consulted, and the Scriptures later, and in a sense subordinate to the Faith thus once delivered and perpetually handed down from the Apostles by the succession of Bishops.

Of course, besides these two Fathers and the others that wrote apologetically and controversially, whether against heathen or heretics, there were many others whose writings have come down to us and are very valuable as showing what views were then entertained on the three great questions,—what constituted the Canon, of what authority they were as binding on the consciences of Christians, and what were the true or allowable principles of interpretation. On these points they are clear and instructive. The authority of the Scriptures was held to be supreme, or at least in no sense inferior and subordinate as a matter of authority to the Creeds and Church usages, or organization and discipline which have been handed down from the Apostles or their times, as shown by universal consent and observance.

Not only did these writers discuss the questions that had arisen in their times, or had occurred to their own minds as they studied the books and compared them one with another, but they compiled synopses,—contrasting and comparing the Gospels, explaining as best they could the apparent discrepancies, and suggesting what appeared to them to be the best modes of interpreting and explaining difficult and unintelligible passages.

How far these principles and modes of interpretation are

obligatory on us in this nineteenth century, and will be so on the centuries to come, is another and an entirely different question. But I suppose that the Church in its plan for unity, and in its practical application after that unity shall have been effected, and to the extent to which at any time it may have been effected, will feel bound to tolerate the modes and principles that were then in use.

But undoubtedly, on the other hand, the altered state of things will demand and produce some changes in this respect.

In fact, every legitimate branch of the Church claims, and has [Matt. xviii. 18] the right to interpret the Scriptures for itself and its own members. [See also the English Articles, xxi. and xxxiv.]

We have, then, the Holy Scriptures with these three characteristics: (1) Revelation from GOD of truths and facts that are beyond human insight or discovery; (2) Attested by miracles such as no man can work except GOD be with him; and (3) Committed to a ministry of Divine appointment.

Our LORD speaks of the miracles He wrought as attesting His word and the Divinity of His nature, on several occasions and in different ways, thus, S. John [xv. 24]: "If I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin; but now have they both seen and hated both me and my FATHER."

And not only do our LORD'S words in appointing His ministry imply a perpetual continuance, "always, even unto the end of the world," but S. Paul, in two places at least, speaks of this ministry collectively in a way that implies its perpetuity; thus, in 1 Cor. xii. 28: "And GOD hath set some in the Church, first, apostles; secondarily, prophets; and thirdly, teachers," etc. Here are three Orders expressly mentioned and denoted by words that express this fact; and whatever we may think of the names, there can be no doubt of their threefoldness. Again [Eph. iv. 11], the same Apostle speaks of several Orders which our LORD "gave," or appointed; and he also speaks of the object of their appointment,—"for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the Body of CHRIST" (the Church), "till we all come in the unity of the Faith, and of the knowledge of the SON OF GOD, unto a perfect man" (the perfection of manhood), "unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of CHRIST."

Surely nothing more can be necessary either in the line and character of the work to be done, or in the constitution and continuity of the Orders of the ministry, than is thus clearly described and indicated. And this ministry is expressly declared to have been "given," "set," and appointed by our LORD Himself, and for the work and the only work which He would have anybody do or attempt to do in His name, and for the promotion of the cause for which He came into the world and took upon Himself our nature, and died on Calvary.

Now, of the three classes of professing Christians of whom I spoke at the beginning of this essay, the first one that I named — the adherents of the Papal Supremacy — accept these three elements, — the Scriptures, as containing a revelation; miracles as proofs of the fact of a revelation; and a ministry or priesthood of perpetual obligation, and without which there can be no true Church, or legitimate branch of the Church of our LORD JESUS CHRIST.

But they, as I have said, make the Church, or at least its ministry, and especially its visible head, the Pope, coequal in point of authority with the Scriptures themselves. Hence we cannot, in accordance with the terms of our Declaration or Proposal, unite on the Holy Scriptures in their sense, and in the use they propose to make of them. For in their sense, though they may be regarded and accepted as "the revealed Word of GOD," they cannot be regarded as containing all that it is necessary for one to believe as a Christian, or to teach as one of the Divinely appointed ministry; nor do they apparently regard them as a standard that may not be departed from.

The next class that I mentioned — the extreme Protestants — also hold a view of the nature, position, and functions of the Holy Scriptures that is equally fatal to their serving as any basis of Church unity, or Church existence, in fact, in any proper sense of the word.

The persons I am now speaking of do indeed hold to the first two elements spoken of, — namely, revelation and miracles, — as attesting it; and in this respect Christianity in their views differs essentially and *toto caelo* from any of the heathen religions. But in rejecting as they do the third element, — the Church, and a permanent ministry or priesthood, as of Divine appointment, with power to interpret and teach the Scriptures, with a perpetual succession in what our Declaration calls "the

Historic Episcopate," — they reduce the Gospel of CHRIST to the same level, and subject it to the same fate, as has befallen the great heathen religions, — the Chinese, the Hindu, the Buddhist, and such like.

In this view we have the Scriptures indeed, and they are of inestimable value; and they and their contents are attested in the most satisfactory manner by miracles. But who is to teach the doctrines contained in the Scriptures? Who, in fact, is to say, who has any authority to say, what are the Scriptures and what are the doctrines they teach? Who may say whether this, that, or the other form of confessing or professing one's belief, amounts to a profession of the Christian Faith? For surely there is such a thing, and we are warned against the danger of it, — a form of confession or profession which does not amount to the Christian Faith, does not fit one for Holy Baptism, nor qualify him to receive the Holy Supper, "rightly discerning the LORD's Body" [1 Cor. xi. 29]. Who, in fact, may decide what is that confession of faith that makes one a Christian?

And there is no escape from this issue. Either every one must judge for himself, and interpret the Scriptures for himself as best he can, or he must follow the guidance of some one else. If he decides for himself, we have abundantly seen that there is no doctrine so absurd but that it may be held, and no duty so sacred but that it may be explained away and neglected. If he chooses for himself who shall be his guides and teachers, the case is not much better; but if he seeks out and accepts those that the LORD has appointed, there must be something of submission, docility, and obedience, as well as a profession or confession of faith before men.

Every Church, whether of human origin or Divine, must claim and exercise some authority over its members, so far at least as to exclude those who do not believe what it regards as essential in doctrine, or live a godly life according to its notions of what constitutes godliness.

Doubtless our LORD gave to His immediate Apostles authority for this purpose; and we find also that even those who had no special inspiration to guide them, as in the case of Timothy and Titus, had express instructions implying authority, not only to select and ordain for the people Elders and Deacons, but also to see to the soundness of their Faith, to

direct their worship, and to explain and enforce the rules and principles of a godly life.

What gives this point the greater importance is the fact that in the Holy Scriptures we are often and again warned against "false teachers," that would come and lead away disciples after them [Matt. vii. 15; xxix. 11; 2 Tim. iv. 3].

Now I know of but two ways, as indicated in Holy Scriptures, by the one or the other of which alone can we determine whom we may regard as Divinely appointed, and to whom we may safely trust ourselves in these most sacred and most important concerns. The one is Apostolic descent by actual, visible, tactful succession from those whom our LORD appointed; and the other is miracles performed by those who claim to speak in GOD'S name and be His ministers.

We have in the Old Testament two classes of Divine teachers clearly distinguished from each other in this way,—Priests and Prophets, though of course the same individual may have in some cases been both a Priest and a Prophet.

But the Priesthood, including High-Priest, Priests, and Levites, came to their office by descent from Levi, Aaron, etc., and needed no other testimony or vindication of their right to perform the duties and claim the privileges and prerogatives of their office. But the Prophets who were not in the priestly line vindicated their claim to speak from GOD, and in His name, by miracles, as in the case of Elijah, Elisha, and Isaiah, to name no others.

It would seem, therefore, that there are and can be but the two classes, each with its appropriate sign and verification of authority,—lineal descent from those who were at first Divinely appointed, and miracles.

But this is not all. The position which this view of the last named of the elements furnished for us in the Holy Scriptures puts Christianity itself on a level with the heathen religions already named. The founders of those religions did not found or build a Church, and they instituted no ministry or priesthood, who should take their writings or verbal messages, preach them to the world, explain and expound them for all who might desire information and guidance, and preserve, protect, and appeal to those sacred writings forever, to the end of the world.

Hence when degeneracy came, as it was sure to come, and when diversities of opinion should arise among honest and sin-

cere inquirers, or be suggested by ambitious aspirants, which were no less sure to come in the order of time and events, — should arise and plead some one or another of the doctrines of the founder of their religion more distinctly or emphatically than the rest, — there was no one to decide, no one to whom it was a duty to refer, no one having any special authority, any more than any other who might happen to be as intelligent and have as much confidence in himself, — perhaps I ought to say as much spiritual pride and conceit, — to whom appeal could be made; there was no Divinely appointed Church, ministry, or priesthood, and the result was a division, — the rising of a new sect. Possibly the new sect was an improvement upon the state of things that existed before it arose, so far as mere purity of doctrine was concerned, and possibly it was not.

But there was no help for it. There was no adequate basis or bond of unity; and the followers and disciples of the old religion formed as numerous sects, and became as diverse from one another as our modern Christian denominations. There was no help for it, and nothing that could be done, except for each of these persons to start off, get as many followers as he could, and make a sect, — a Church of his and their own.

The only remedy for this evil is "the Church idea," the doctrine and belief that the Author and Giver of our Salvation instituted a Church and appointed a ministry whom believers must receive, if they would receive Him [Matt. x. 46; Mark ix. 37; John xiii. 20], — the ministry of Whom we read in the Acts and Epistles as actually doing the work He had appointed them to do, and with whom He promised to be "always, even unto the end of the world."

But from the days when the Bishop of Rome began to claim the supremacy, the idea of the Church began to disappear and be lost and swallowed up in that of the Papacy, so that now the Pope is all in all; and at the reaction that began to prevail during the Reformation, the idea came into vogue that Church authority was little or nothing, and doctrine was the one essential thing, and the individual became the all in all, each one for himself.

There remain three topics on which it seems desirable to say a few words before we close: (1) The Canon, and what is to be regarded as constituting "the Holy Scriptures;" (2) In what sense they are to be regarded as inspired, or "the revealed

Word of GOD ;" and (3) In what way and by what rules of interpretation they are to be expounded and insisted upon in proving doctrines, or in teaching the way and the duties of a holy life.

We have seen, as has been well said in the vigorous words of Bishop Temple, the present Bishop of London, that "it must always be remembered that although the Bible is a good text-book of religious instruction, our LORD did not first have the Bible written, and then send forth His Apostles to lecture upon it. He first sent them forth, and then supplied them with the New Testament, as the great instrument by which they were to convert the world; the Church which He created was the agent for using that instrument."

I have said something of a slight diversity of opinion among the early Christians with regard to a few of the books that we now receive; and it is not at all likely that our Bishops intended to preclude discussion of these subjects or a diversity of opinion concerning them.

Yet even now, as in early times, nearly every dissenter from the Church professes to disregard and reject some of the books that are generally received. Luther despised the Epistle of S. James. Calvin had his preferences and partialities. And as Reuss [*History of the Canon*, c. xvi.] and Westcott [*The Bible in the Church*, c. x.] have shown, there has been scarcely a new sect founded, or the founder of a new sect, that did not either invent some new Scriptures, or find reasons for rejecting some parts of those that the Church held.

Our Declaration says, "the revealed Word of GOD ;" that is, a revelation from GOD.

In what sense a revelation ? We often use the words "inspiration" and "revelation" in a subordinate sense, as in fact implying thoughts and truths which are not regarded as from GOD, in any special sense, — in any sense, in fact, higher and more especial than that in which all truth is regarded as from Him. In this view there is no real distinction between discovery and revelation, — between the truths that are discovered whether by explorations into the records of the past, or by penetration into the nature and relations of the facts of the present order and course of Nature.

But I think the Church means to be understood as holding, and intends to adhere to and enforce, a higher sense than this; for in this sense all religions are based on revelations, and given

by inspiration. But I think that our Church intends something more: thus, if the account which Moses gives of the several stages of creation be true, and in accordance with facts, it must have been given by a higher inspiration,—for there was no human being present to see them, and it had not been discovered at that time by men of science. The expression is “the revealed Word of GOD.” So in our Constitution no one can be ordained in our Branch of the Anglican Communion without making in the most solemn manner a declaration that he “believes the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be the Word of GOD.”

It is to be noted that the expression in both cases is in the singular number,—“the Word of GOD,” not “the Words of GOD,” as if it were intended to indicate and teach a doctrine of plenary inspiration. The men who wrote the books were inspired to write and say just what GOD for the occasion would have them to say. And I think that we must be on our guard against a very prevalent opinion,—that because these men were inspired and spoke as they were moved by the HOLY GHOST, therefore what they said must be taken in accordance with the Englishman’s oath, “The truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.” Of course I do not mean to say or to imply that anything that is thus said when rightly understood—that is, when understood as they understood it and intended it should be understood—is untrue. But what I mean to say is that GOD left them, for the most part, to express what was really His truth in their own way, and as best suited their personal usages and tastes, and was best calculated to produce the effect that was intended on the people of the time.

Nearly all the language and forms of expression we use have grown out of past theories, many of which are no longer held. We do not suppose that a man denies the Copernican theory because he uses the expression, “the sun rises.”

The fact that a man uses words that imply a theory of things is no certain proof that he holds that theory unless he so uses his words as to show that he intended to affirm it. This would seem to be the only safe rule.

In discussing and criticising the statements of others, it is but fair and candid—doing by others as we would like to be done by—to suppose that they knew what they were talking about and understood the facts which they undertook to assert.

Thus, when a man is professedly teaching astronomy, it is but fair to take his words literally in reference to the point directly before him, and to suppose he intended to teach, and ascribe to him the views, that his words imply or express when taken literally. And so with every other subject; but in discussing or speaking of any subject a man must of necessity use the language of his time, and such as is understood or will be best understood by those for whom it was intended. And of course the subject will sometimes be one that is beyond their comprehension; then, of course, he must resort to parable, figures of speech, and similes, such as will in his judgment best effect the purpose he had before him.

Hence it is very often the case in dispute that both parties are right if they will only understand each other. Moses said, "GOD created the heaven and the earth," and specifies the successive stages. Modern scientists have discovered that this was really the order and the successive stages; and they call it evolution. Well, they may both of them be right. There could hardly be creation without a method, and with successive stages and progress; nor can there be evolution without something to work upon, and something or somebody—a person—to work upon it. Evolution may be only GOD's way and method in creation.

It has been said of one of the wags of our day that he once remarked that he would not give "five cents to know what Ingersoll thinks of the mistakes of Moses, but he would give many dollars to know what Moses thinks of the mistakes of Ingersoll."

Now, as Moses was one of the meekest of men, we may imagine him saying, "My friend, I expected wiser and more considerate and candid men to study and interpret my writings. You do not seem to have the slightest idea of what I was writing about, or what I was trying to accomplish. Put yourself in my place, and you would say about what I did, and perhaps a good deal better."

We have, then, these three: (1) The Church with its ministry; (2) The Holy Scriptures; (3) The godly life. Of the three the Church was first in the order of time. But the last, personal holiness, is first in the order of importance, and that for which the other two were instituted. Man needs light and guidance; and somewhere along in the course of his life there must come

the element of faith, docility,— the walking by faith under the guidance of those who have the right to teach and guide him,— if he is ever to rise above the mere natural life which ends and ever must end in spiritual death, the eternal death of the soul.

The word "Church" is used in the New Testament in three ways: (1) In the singular, to denote the one Body that our LORD founded, as in Matt. xvi. 16, "I will build my Church;" S. Paul, when he speaks of the Church as the Body of CHRIST (or of Christians) or "the Pillar and Ground of the Truth" [Eph. i. 23; Col. i. 24; 1 Tim. iii. 15]; (2) When it denotes the body of baptized believers or disciples in any one city or locality, as the Church at Jerusalem, the Church at Antioch, etc.; (3) In the plural, when it is always accompanied by some geographical designation denoting not now a city or any one community, but a province, which, like the States of our Union, had many cities; as the Churches of Judea, the Churches of Samaria, the Churches of Galilee, the Churches of Asia, etc.

But the idea of many Churches, or bodies of recognized believers, in the same city or community, never occurs. And in fact, the existence of such a state of things is precluded by the way in which the New Testament Scriptures speak of: (1) Heresy [1 Cor. xi. 19; Tit. iii. 10]; (2) Schisms [1 Cor. i. 10-iii. 4] or divisions among Christians, who, though in a state of insubordination, were still in the Church as its recognized members; (3) Those who had seceded, "gone out," from the Church, and yet claimed to be Christians with a rule or standard of Faith of their own, different from that in the Church. They were called anti-CHRIST [1 John ii. 18, 19]. The word "Church" is also used to denote the place or building in which Christians met for worship [Rom. xvi. 5; Acts xix. 37].

But when the word is used in the singular number to denote a body of believers, it is used as above described, (1) and (2), and never otherwise.

The parochial system as we now have it did not come in until later. When the believers in any one city became too numerous or lived too far apart to assemble for worship in one place, they built more places of worship, sometimes as many as thirty or forty. But there was always one Bishop, or chief pastor, with as many Elders and Deacons to assist him as were necessary for the work to be done; but for some one or two hundred years there was no division into organized parishes, as we have now

in every large city in all denominations. The first question to be settled, then, would seem to be not one that relates to Church organization or modes of worship, and possibly not even to the details of doctrine; but it is rather the question of historic continuity, of Church identity, of visible connection, as a Branch with the Vine, the members with the one Body.

Of these branches we have unquestionably four: (1) That in the East, which was early brought under Mahometan domination; (2) That in Russia, where Mahometanism never prevailed; (3) That in the West, which was brought and still remains under the Papacy; and (4) The Anglican in England, America, and the colonies, a part of which, the English Church, was once included partly under the domination of the Bishop of Rome, but threw off that domination in the sixteenth century at what is called the Reformation; the rest never acknowledged his claims.

The Churches in Africa and the East were early divided by heresies and schisms and endless contentions, until the Mahometan conquest put a stop to them. In the West there were fewer heresies and much less speculation, indeed, the rise of the Papacy put a stop to what there were, and also served a most invaluable purpose in preserving the Church and Christianity itself during the Middle Ages.

Our LORD said not only that He would build His Church on the Faith in Him which S. Peter had confessed, but He said also that "the gates of hell should not prevail against it" [Matt. xvi. 18]. Doubtless this implies and declares that the Church should never become extinct; but does it not imply and declare also that no one soul that trusts to its teaching and instructions is in any danger of losing his soul? And I think if it has an application like this to the individual believer, it must be understood as applying to each one to his Church; that is, the city or provincial Church that has jurisdiction in the city or province where he lives.

The one great central thought of the Old Dispensation was the unity, the oneness, the oneliness of GOD,—the GOD whom the Jews were to worship, adore, and obey; and the one great sin that they were disposed to, and which for them was the parent of all sins, even if it did not in the sight of God involve them all in its one act, was the worship of other gods.

It seems to have been about as difficult under the New

Dispensation to make people believe in and understand the oneness and the oneliness of the Church which our LORD founded to be, on earth, the means of training those that believe in Him, while they are living here, for His Kingdom above.

But just as under the Old Dispensation, so soon as the idea of the oneness of GOD had passed out of mind, the idea of His majesty and the majesty of His law began to fade until it entirely disappeared, and lost all its force of restraint upon the evil tendencies of the human heart. So if we have diverse Churches in the same community, no one of them nor all of them together can exert so much influence for good, as if any one of them spoke with one voice, proclaiming the doctrines of the Gospel and the duties of the Christian life even in the lowest and worst forms in which they ever have been presented.

Naturally men are disinclined to the restraints and discipline that religion imposes; and when theologians begin to dispute about any of its doctrines, men naturally come to the conclusion that that doctrine is either unimportant or not so clearly revealed as to be obligatory. And it would seem that if this is to go on under the influences that are now at work, we shall soon come to a stage in which there will be a denial of miracles and of any revelation in the proper sense of the word, and we shall be left to the mere truths of natural religion, calling them Christianity, a Christianity without CHRIST.

Nor can we expect to stop here; the tendency to a philosophy which denies the possibility of any knowledge of anything above the mere facts and objects of Nature seems to be prevailing in most influential quarters. And if this prevails, we shall have mere agnosticism, body without a soul, a universe without GOD, and a life that is not worth living. Those that are naturally and by instinct inclined to be good will observe the principles of morality and decency as a matter of taste and of choice; but those of a different natural constitution, having nothing to restrain them, no belief in GOD or immortality, will abandon themselves to the base instincts and inclinations of their bad natures.

Men naturally ask why, if there is but one GOD, He should have many Churches in the same community, each teaching a different doctrine, each with a different mode of worship and different mode of life as the way of gaining His favor; and the question is pertinent and forcible. It is sometimes said that

the object is to have doctrines and worship to suit the various tastes and characters of the different kinds of people.

But Christianity, though in a most important sense adapted to the wants and needs of man, was not intended to be adapted to his pleasures and preferences; it was rather intended to work a change in him, change his tastes and his habits so that instead of pleasing himself, he should come to love that which pleases GOD,—in short, to regenerate him and make him fit for and able to enjoy the pleasures and delights of heaven.

The great mass of men continue through life to be pretty much what they were brought up to be. Nor is this all. Everybody, I suppose, will assent to the notion that of all the ideas and influences that can be brought to bear on the youthful mind during all the days of its early training, and while it is adopting its principles and forming the habits which are to be its character in after-life, there is no one so powerful as the idea of an Overruling and All-Powerful Being who loves righteousness and will reward those that love and obey Him; this with the corresponding idea of one Perfect Man, His only SON, whom He has sent into the world to be our pattern and the example for our imitation, is of all others the most powerful and effective.

And if the progress of science and the results of observation and experience have taught us any one thing, it is the fact that all men, and especially while they are children, must have the stimulus of some motive that is higher and more powerful than any understanding, foresight, or appreciation of the natural consequence of their acts of which they are now capable, if they are to lead lives that are much above their natural instincts.

The first question, then, is, Who are they that "sit in Moses' seat," and whose teachings we are to follow? It is written also, and for Christians, after the full establishment of the Church, "Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the Word of GOD: whose faith follow. . . . Obey them that have the rule over you, . . . submit yourselves: for they watch for your souls" [Heb. xiii. 7, 17].

As we have seen and said, the Romanists make the Bible not only subordinate to the Church, and to their special branch of the Church, but also to the one man who is recognized as the head of that Church,—the Bishop of Rome. Hence they are not inclined to encourage, or even to allow, the free use of the Bible by their own people,— by the very class of people to

whom and for whom, as we have seen, the several books of the New Testament, with very few exceptions, were written.

In the extreme Protestant view, on the other hand, whatever may be held or inculcated in theory, the Bible comes to be regarded, in fact and in practical results, as plenarily inspired; that is, all that is received as part of the Word of GOD, and inspired at all, is regarded for all practical results as being not only the very words of GOD, but each sentence by itself as the whole truth that relates to that subject. Hence each one fixes upon some favorite passage or text, and insists upon that as the truth and the whole truth, and makes all the other parts of the Scriptures that he accepts, or has ever read, conform to that one. Hence we have Baptists, Calvinists, Methodists, Unitarians, Universalists, etc., according as these students of the Bible fix upon one or another text and make ~~this~~ central or controlling fact or text as the foundation and controlling element of the system of theology or the Church they adopt.

From these considerations it would appear that if we are to have a Church unity, on the basis of the Holy Scriptures as the revealed Word of GOD, we must also have a Church that, in teaching the people, will take care to rightly "divide the Word of Truth," giving to each one a portion in due season. And here comes in the fact and the doctrine of the supremacy of the Holy Scriptures; this was the Jewish law. "To the Law and to the Testimony" [Isa. viii. 20]. Not even a Prophet, though he could perform miracles, was expected or allowed to teach anything contrary to the law as given by Moses. And so with the early Christians. They had no thought that the Church could teach anything that was contrary to the teachings of the New Testament. And as a matter of fact, the writers of the Holy Scriptures themselves never seem to contemplate or anticipate the fact that any of the duly authorized ministry in any province or nation can so far depart from that Faith in their teachings as to endanger the souls of those that are duly subject to them, or to justify us in rejecting them or departing from their ministrations.

From this it would appear that it is as important at least, if not more so, that we should in the first place ascertain and know who it is that has the right to teach us—who sit in Moses' seat—as it is to know what they teach. And yet there is doubtless a "form of sound words," a "faith once delivered

to the saints," to which we are to "hold fast," whatever any man or Church may teach.

I think we must admit that each of the great denominations around us arose from the fact and to remedy an evil, that some one of the great doctrines of Christianity which the Church ought to have taught was not held forth and presented as it ought to have been by the Church and the clergy of the day and of the country when and where it arose. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the adherents of the Papacy, in our country at least, do insist upon certain points of order and discipline which are conducive to that "obedience to the Faith" of which the Holy Scriptures speak, and are, for many persons at least, a part of, if not necessary to, that preparation for heaven which the Church itself was instituted to promote. And not only so, but each of the great denominations around us reaches and gets hold of and brings under some measure and kind of religious influence many persons, which is for the persons thus reached, and for the community at large, what neither the Protestant Episcopal Church, nor any of the denominations, could in the present state of things reach. These denominations, each and all of them, appeal to and develop, however imperfectly, the religious sentiment. They do also inculcate a higher idea of morality than would otherwise prevail. To this remark I make no exceptions, — not even of the most widely diverse religionists among us. And that is really the substance and the ground of our hope. These denominations do all of them reach a portion of the people that probably would not be brought under any religious influence if the denominations were not so many and so diverse. They do all develop and cultivate the religious sentiment, and they do all teach people to look up and forward to something higher than this world, — something holier than self to live for.

But more than this we need not acknowledgment and profession only, we need worship also, — public worship, — to educate the religious sentiment and the fear of GOD. And to accomplish its end this worship must be adapted to the wants and conditions of the people, each nation, age, and era by itself, and doubtless different in some respects in all of them.

It would appear also that not only the fact, but also the character of the public worship is of great importance. Perhaps the

character and mode of worship does quite as much toward forming the character of the people as the doctrinal teaching. I think we can see this in the difference among the members of the different denominations around us.

But who shall prescribe the form of worship? It is not fully described in the New Testament any more than the mode and form of the organization of the Church, and apparently for the same reason. We do, however, find the Apostles giving directions about the worship, and giving authority to others, as Timothy and Titus, to regulate it for the people.

But on what terms shall we unite? Will the Romanists consent to restore the "Historic Episcopate" to its original dignity and independence of Papal control? Will the Protestants consent to have Bishops exercising the control over their people, including their Elders and Deacons, that Timothy and Titus exercised, one at Ephesus and the other at Crete? Shall we concede to either of them what our forefathers did not feel at liberty to concede? Will they, as organized bodies, abandon and renounce the points for which their forefathers seceded and went into a state of schismatic insubordination or anti-Christian opposition?

But I fear that we shall have no real Church unity until views of the Christian life itself come to be entertained quite different from those that we see now prevailing around us. It is not the Scriptures only, nor yet the Church only, with regard to which such widely different views as we have been considering are entertained by the members of the various sects and denominations that are found in our country. But their views of what constitutes piety — the real Christian life — are quite as widely variant as their views on either of the other subjects. No two of them agree or speak in the same terms on that most important subject.

The one essential thing in the truly religious and godly life is doubtless the doing or intending to do the will of GOD. Genuine conversion for the natural man is the turning from doing our own will and pleasure to the habitual doing of the will of GOD. Mistakes, in fact, are easily overlooked by man, and as we may believe, by GOD, the Final Judge, also. But if a man does not try or care to ascertain and do the will of GOD, he is none of His; he has not the root of the matter in him. Whatever he may do for the sake of outward appearance is but shal-

low, perhaps only mere hypocrisy and false pretence. But doing the will of GOD, even when it implies self-denial, and especially when it implies self-denial, is the essential thing.

"Obedient to the Faith." These seem to be the words that are used in Holy Scripture to characterize the Christian life. S. Luke uses them in speaking of the converts from among the Jews [Acts vi. 7]; S. Paul uses them to characterize his work "among all nations" [Rom. i. 5; xvi. 26]. The Romanists, on the one hand, insist on the first element,— "obedience,"— and subject all to the Bishop of Rome; the extreme Protestants, on the other hand, rejecting Church authority, insist on the second element,— "the Faith." But for any substantial or permanent and harmonious unity, we must have the two united,— "Obedience to the Faith,"— as, each in its due proportion, what GOD has united, and no man hath any right to put asunder.

The first sin and the beginning of all sin on earth was an act of disobedience. Our first parents lacked faith. They did not believe that GOD meant what He said and would do what He had threatened. When He warned them against eating the forbidden fruit, they thought that they would be much wiser and happier for having their way. And with the end of disobedience and a hearty and entire return to "the obedience to the Faith," we shall see what S. Paul predicted as the final end and aim of the Incarnation, the establishing of the Church and the preaching of the Gospel; namely, "Then cometh the end, when He shall have put all enemies under His feet, and He shall have delivered up the kingdom to GOD; even the FATHER, and GOD will be all in all" [1 Cor. xv. 24-29]. Then right and righteousness will everywhere prevail.

But whatever we may do and whatever may come, we must see to it that we unite on Church grounds; that in any union or confederation with others, we bring them into the Church, and not cast ourselves out of it; that we bring them under the jurisdiction of the "Historic Episcopate," and not, leaving that, invent one of our own, forsaking and forfeiting all possibility of recognition by those branches of the Church which are unquestionably of Apostolic origin, and which, whatever they may have lost or invented, have retained the Holy Scriptures, the Creeds, and the Sacraments, and have also preserved in its unbroken succession the one "Historic Episcopate."

W. D. WILSON.

“The faith which was once for all Delivered.”

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FOR more than a thousand years the external unity of the Church of CHRIST has been broken up.

Temporary ruptures between the East and West had occurred at times from a very early period in the history of the Church, but finally their disputes became so bitter that they separated entirely. Intercommunion between them ceased. Each tolerated only its own adherents; and so far as organic or visible unity is concerned, the Greek, or Eastern, and the Western, or Latin, Communions have remained disunited to the present day.

At the Reformation in the sixteenth century divisions arose in the Church in the West. Its differing portions became separated from each other, and numerous breaks were thus made in “the corporate unity” of this part of Christendom.

Upon the continent, besides the Romanists, who still retained their allegiance to the Papal throne, there were the Lutheran communities of Germany, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. Some of these preserved the Episcopate, as they claim, in a perfectly valid and historic form; while with others this was lacking, apparently rather from circumstances than any special desire to have it so.

Scotland and Holland had in like manner assumed independent positions, and had adopted for their national Churches the mode of organization favored by Calvin, — a system maintained also by the heroic Huguenots of France, and the republic of Geneva; while the Church of England, although it also was separated from external communion with Rome, had yet carefully retained in their integrity all the elements which the Church of the Apostles had regarded as essential, in either its Faith or its organization.

But these larger and historical divisions of “the corporate unity” of the Church are not the only ones with which we are

concerned; there have been, since the Reformation, a considerable number of religious bodies separated from the English Church, which are now independent Communions. Each of these has its own creed, ministry, and discipline, and is organized according to the circumstances or convictions in which it had its origin.

Among the more prominent of these are the Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists, and others with them, too numerous to mention; we must take all these into account in any scheme designed to promote the reunion of Christendom. The principles which are to be "the basis for the restoration of the corporate unity" of the whole Church, must apply equally — though in very different ways — to the comparatively recent separations of the followers of George Fox and John Wesley, and to the problem of the ancient disunion between the Churches of the East and the Communion of Rome. But though the question of reunion, taken in its whole extent, thus concerns the entire Church, and reaches far back into its history, we are called upon here, by the terms of the Lambeth Encyclical, to deal chiefly with the Christian bodies once of our own Communion, but now separated from us by "the unhappy divisions" which so sorrowfully rend and weaken our Protestant Christianity.

These should certainly have the first place in our interest and affection. Their founders were in most cases members, in some ministers, of the Church of England. The separation of some of them from that Church might have been easily prevented by a larger measure of wisdom and charity on the part of its authorities. They have now grown to vast institutions which are daily preaching the Gospel to multitudes, and showing "by their fruits" that the spirit of the MASTER is with them in much they do.

No one having in him the true spirit of CHRIST can read the reports of the immense work for good, "casting out devils in the name of CHRIST," wrought by the great Protestant Churches, without thanks to GOD that such Divine work, and so blessed, is being done, — even though it be by those who in certain things "follow not us" [Mark ix. 38], or without a corresponding sense of loss and grief that we cannot join hand in hand with them in every element of Church activity, and manifest that we are brethren, not only in that "unity of

the spirit" which binds us all to CHRIST, but also in the offices of that ministry which was given to the Church "once for all" by its founders, and which, with its Holy Scriptures, its Faith, and Sacraments, it was charged to hand down to the end of the ages.

It was especially our relations with these divisions from our branch of the Church, and a deep conviction of the evils of their continuance, that led the Bishops in the General Convention, and in the Lambeth Conference, to prepare and issue their earnest appeals upon the subject of Church unity and to state the conditions which they deemed essential to any basis for the reunion of Christendom.

It is with the general principles involved in these propositions, and some practical thoughts on the course of the Church in this matter, that the following paper will chiefly be occupied.

The word "reunion" expresses, in my mind, the real essence of the whole movement. It indicates, in its simple meaning, a return of some kind and in some way to "a unity" which had once existed, but at present is interrupted. The original unity of Christendom was the Church as established primarily on principles derived from the Apostles, and agreeing in all its parts in certain essential elements; namely, the one Faith, the Holy Scriptures, the Sacraments of CHRIST, the Orders of the Ministry, and the means for its continuance and government; and where there have been divisions which rejected or perverted any of these, the only way to a true reunion is by a return to, and acceptance again, of all the principles which were regarded as essential to the original unity.

This conformity to the essential elements of the primitive Church as the only basis for Christian reunion is not the device or invention of any branch of the Church of to-day, nor was it struck out by any Convention of Bishops as a plausible theory to commend the Episcopate; upon the contrary, the principle on which it rests—the assumption that the great outlines of Church faith and Church order were to be preserved in their substance through all after-time—pervades all the writings of the ante-Nicene period, and is in strict accord with all that the New Testament teaches of the nature and continuance of the Church.

Many scout at all such obligations, on the ground that CHRIST

gave no command as to any mode of the organization or transmission of the Church. Neither, however, did He give any command that the four Gospels should be written, nor do these Gospels declare by whom, or when, or under what authority they were composed; the chief *external* evidence on which we receive them is that they form an integral part of the constitution of the primitive Church. Hence we believe that the Faith, Sacraments, and Orders which were also accepted by this Church as essential in its organization, were likewise to be preserved in their principles through all the after-history of the Church.

It is contended by some that the conditions of the primitive Church cannot be reproduced in our day, hence that it is absurd to imagine that these principles of the Apostolic age can be applied in the Church of the present time. It is undoubtedly true that the needs of the changing centuries require corresponding modifications in the *workings* of every institution, the Church among the rest; the modes of *interpreting* even articles of the Creed will vary; the "Historic Episcopate" must "be adapted in its administration" to the changed conditions of different times and peoples. But there is no reason to believe that there will be any period when the principles which were deemed fundamental in all the early centuries of the Church should not be held equally so in every succeeding age of that same Church. Nay, more, if the Church be, as we hold, a Divine institution, it is eminently rational that the Faith, Sacraments, Holy Scriptures, and Ministerial Orders which were regarded as essential from its beginning, should have been given to it "once for all," and should therefore be retained as living elements in all the future of the Church.

It is just these fundamental elements of the Church of the Apostolic ages which the Bishops set forth as a basis for the reunion of Christendom.

This was not issued as a sort of Protocol for future negotiation, but as a clear and definite statement by the Bishops of the great Anglican Communion that the only and true basis for a restoration of the unity of all the parts of the Church, whether Greek, Roman, Anglican, or Protestant, is the acceptance by all alike of the principles on which the Church was originally founded, and their adoption, unperverted and unmutilated, as the necessary conditions of reunion of the Churches in the

future. Nothing of vital import can be added, nothing of fundamental value cast away.

The position above taken implies that the basis which is proposed must be regarded *as a whole*; its several parts are linked together and form a coherent system; all of them were essential in the Church's primal unity; no one of them can be discarded from the conditions of reunion in our day; and further yet, when taken separately, and apart from the living whole of which they are the elements, no one of them can by itself meet the very ends for which it was intended in its association with the others.

Take, for example, the acceptance of the two Creeds, — the Apostles' and that called the Nicene — as "a sufficient statement of the Christian Faith."

In the Church of the first three hundred years the only and "all-sufficient statement of the Faith" was a summary substantially the same in its essential features as that which has been known for centuries as "The Apostles' Creed."

This Creed now occupies well-nigh the same position in the Churches of England and America as the analogous but simpler form did in the ante-Nicene age; in connection with its expansion in the Creed of Nicæa, it is the only "Confession of Faith" which they require from all their members. The *Church* does not need to require any more.

This is due mainly to the fact that in the Church the *Creed does not stand alone*, but is an integral part of a system. It is an introduction to a large and connected whole; in this its fitting place it is associated with other agencies which present the Church's teaching on duties and doctrines that are not embodied in the Creed, and yet are necessary to the full and right development of the Christian life. Hence, as these means of supplying all the necessities of the spiritual life are thus provided, the Church does not need any other obligatory standard of Faith than this which has come down to us from the earliest ages.

While, however, the Creed is satisfactory in its place as "The Creed of the CHURCH," its position is very different when considered as the sole basis of unity, or the sole body of doctrine for a denomination.

On the one hand, as the denominations do not possess the complete system by which the Creeds are accompanied in the

Church, they find it necessary in some way to meet this want. Hence the more thoughtful of them embody their leading principles in "Confessions," which their people often find complex and burdensome, but which at the same time they feel it to be equally difficult to revise or to do without.

Upon the other hand, the bare adoption of the Creeds, with no other authorized teaching on doctrine or on morals than is expressed in them, would be but a slim safeguard against the intrusion into the Church of certain bodies which might profess a formal symbol of belief and yet maintain opinions and allow practices wholly foreign to the spirit of the Gospel. Communities such as these are by no means unknown phenomena in the history of the past.

Hence the Creeds, when taken alone, are incompetent to serve as a basis on which we can ever build a reunited Christendom. What is true in this respect of the Creeds is likewise true of the other parts of the basis we are discussing, whether taken singly or with some portions only of their number to the exclusion of the others. Regarded in their connection, and as a whole, they form the original conditions of the unity of the early Church; but considered separately, no portion of them without *all the others* can offer a practical, or even plausible, ground on which a theory of reunion could be reasonably based.

There have been since the present awakening of the Christian world to the importance of reunion many plans suggested for bringing about some mode of mutual interchange of ministry without an adoption of the original system of the Church as this is embodied in the papers of the Bishops.

One of the most popular of these is that known in general as "A Federation of the Churches."

As indicated by the term, the leading idea seems to be to establish some sort of an arrangement between such of the Christian denominations as may unite in the agreement by which each of those in the association shall preserve its own "corporate" existence, teach its own special doctrines, have its own Creed,—excepting only in such points as may have been adopted as the conditions of their Federation,—while at the same time the ministry of each shall be allowed free interchange in preaching, and in other offices of the Church, with all the others.

Apart from any principles concerning the nature of the Church, the practical difficulties of any such scheme would be insuperable.

How should the basis of their association be prepared? Should a consultation of certain denominations lay down the conditions and ask the others to adopt them? What reason have we to think that the acts of any such self-constituted body would be accepted by the other parts of Christendom? Can any sane man imagine that a universal conference of the innumerable sects of Protestantism could be had, or, if it should be attempted, that it could possibly agree on any terms which would allow that each should interchange its pulpits and its Sacraments with all the others? And without such universal agreement the divisions of Protestantism, even outside the Church, would be no nearer a unity than they are to-day.

This brings us to the consideration of the much-vexed question of the refusal of the Church to allow the ministers of other denominations to preach in its pulpits or to take part in its public offices.

This is not, as some seem to think, an exhibition of the insolence of caste on the part of our clergy; still less is it an expression of their sense of individual merit or personal superiority. GOD forbid that any one belonging to the ministry of the Church of CHRIST should have these feelings, or feelings in any manner akin to them! This were, indeed, not only un-Christian, but unchurchly and unwarranted upon any ground. There are numbers in the ministry of the Communions of which we speak, at whose feet I have willingly sat as an humble learner in many of the deep truths of theology and the spiritual experiences of the Christian life; the question in no sense concerns the individual members of their ministry, or the personal excellence of the men to whom the work of their ministrations is committed. The Church holds itself to be "a witness and keeper" of the fundamental elements of the Church's organization and order as well as of the Holy Scriptures and the Faith; and when it declares in the Ordinal that "no man shall be suffered to execute any of the functions" of the ministry "in this Church except he have had Episcopal ordination," this is simply an application of one of the principles which was universally accepted in the Church of the Apostles, and from which no portion of the historic Church has ever departed.

There is also another consideration arising from the relation of the Episcopate to the other elements of the primitive Church that may be noted here. The existence and successions of Bishops do not stand alone in the constitution of the primitive Church, any more than its accepted Creed. No one of its original elements can be discarded from this Church without imminent peril to the preservation of the others.

The Episcopate and the requirement of Episcopal ordination, like the others, are integral parts of an organic whole; the same "ancient authors," in the same argument, often in the same passage or page, in which they refer to the existence and teachings of the Scriptures of the New Testament, will also assert the Apostolic origin and the succession of the Bishops as facts equally undoubted and universal in every portion of the Church. If we refuse to accept their testimony, when they witness to facts so patent as the connection of the Bishops with the Church, or to allow full weight to their authority when they assume "an unbroken line of the Episcopate" as a reality which no one would question, can we rely upon them as trustworthy evidence in the far more difficult and subtle discussions on the authorship and divineness of the books of the New Testament? It would prove, soon or late, a disastrous experiment to disparage their testimony as to the position and character of the Episcopal Order, and then expect to have them received as chief witnesses in support of the canonicity of Holy Scripture.

"The Historic Episcopate" is thus to be accepted, with the other principles of the original form of the Church, as one of the essential parts of that Church, and as such it cannot be rejected from any proper basis of reunion.

Whether there shall ever be a reunion of Christendom, or how it can be effected, lies only in the mind of the "All-knowing."

That the great Protestant Communions shall, as organized bodies, be willing to agree with us on any such basis as will produce a real or corporate union, is, in my opinion, most unlikely ever to happen. Both the circumstances of their several origins, and the position they now occupy, render any such fusion in mass almost impossible.

If there should ever be a return of Christendom to its original and intended unity, it will not, in all human probability, come from resolutions or proceedings of any assembly or con-

ference or convention, but from a wide-spread conviction among Christian people as to what really constitutes a Church, and a consequent flowing of the multitudes into the Communion which shall have proved itself by its truth, spirit, and works, as well as its Orders, to be the true Church. Should the Church which claims to be Apostolic ever thus win "the hearts and minds" of the bulk of the Christian community, the unity of Christendom would then be attained by the gathering of its people into its one Church.

The practical interest of the Anglo-American Church in this matter of reunion is chiefly concerned, as we have already stated, with the position of the various Protestant Communions among whom we are.

There is a feeling, far too common, on the part of many Churchmen, that the fault of these separations from the Church of England was all upon one side; that these organizations had gone into schism without any reason, and being in schism, had but one thing to do,—this was to confess their error, and return at once to the bosom of the Church.

But there is a far deeper significance in the origin and continuance of these separations than can be thus easily disposed of; and the Church can never deal wisely with the questions now presented to her without realizing that there is a philosophy in *sectism*, and a profound meaning in the existence of sects, which she is called on to understand and to apply.

The reasons for the separation of many of the Dissenters from the Church of England rest largely with the Church itself; and a correct appreciation of some of these reasons may furnish lessons of no slight importance to the future of the Church.

The source of several of the more important of these divisions lay in a condition of the Church at the period of their occurrence by which some great truth or duty which belonged to her had been neglected or repressed. Earnest men, feeling that their spiritual nature demanded a fuller recognition of this than the Church would then permit, gathered themselves into associations to supply this special lack. These gradually shaped themselves into complete organizations, which after a time became wholly independent Communions, and were entirely severed from the Church.

It was an impulse of this kind which resulted in the for-

mation of the Quaker Society, and the establishment of John Wesley's Methodism.

In the former case the strife of parties had well-nigh silenced the Church's voice on the vital doctrine of the inner personal testimony of the HOLY SPIRIT to the soul; and the fervid, though often wild and misdirected zeal of George Fox embodied this great truth in a sect which called the thoughts of many who had no sympathy with his society to realize their need of a personal communion with the SPIRIT far more vividly than they would otherwise have done.

So again, had the Church of England been at all awake in the time of Wesley to the necessity of zealous preaching to the poor and destitute, and of an individual awakening to the need of their conversion to a Christian life, he would have been able to keep his followers and converts, as he always desired to do, in the Communion of the Church; and the Church would thus at the same time have profited by his zeal, and have added to her numbers multitudes who were her rightful children.

There were also separations which grew out of oppressions and hardships,—from the harsh actions of Ecclesiastical Commissions, and sometimes the personal severity of Bishops. And those who might have been kept in the Church by a measure of consideration and Christian charity, upon the part of its authorities, were largely through these means driven off into new organizations that have transmitted to their members feelings of bitterness which long generations have not yet effaced.

Viewed in this connection with their causes, the existence of these separated Communions has an intended meaning for the Church, and one of great practical significance in our day.

It teaches very clearly that we should seek in each of these denominations what is that feature or aspect of the Christian life which has been its distinguishing characteristic and its chief power for good in actual practice, and should endeavor ourselves to do that thing by the Church more wisely and more effectively than it has been done by its special advocates. Live more closely in the communion of the SPIRIT than the followers of Fox. Be more eager in the work of saving souls than even Wesley was. Study to be more powerful in preaching than the Presbyterians; and so of all the rest.

Considered thus, the continuance and success of these denominations are constant and urgent calls to the Church that it should learn what there is in each of them that we may profit by and use as a means to aid us in ministering through the Church to these same spiritual needs of men.

There is no one of the causes that led to these divisions that may not now be remedied. There is no one of their special lines of Christian labor that we may not carry on more effectively in the Church than they can do without it.

Here, in my view, is a large responsibility resting on the Church in this matter of reunion. Let her in every form of Christian usefulness show herself more zealous and more effective than any of "the Churches." Let her make good her Apostolic character by act and spirit, as well as by claim and argument, however well grounded these may be. Let her demonstrate, by fulfilling the high duties laid upon her, that there is no need for any other agency than the Church of CHRIST to do the work of CHRIST.

When she presents in some adequate degree these evidences that she is entitled to be in fact, as she is in right, the centre of the unity of Christendom, multitudes, who before have stood apart, will come to her, because in her they will find the fullest and most effective means of satisfying the spiritual needs of both the individual man and the whole community.

Time, zeal, great labor, and self-sacrifice must all be given, and in abundant measure, before any such result can be attained. But if there ever shall be any reunion of Christendom, it only can be, I believe, upon essentially the principles which have been outlined here.

J. F. GARRISON.

The Holy Eucharist the Lord's Eirenicon.

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I HAVE been asked to write a contribution to the great subject of union among the followers of CHRIST, and the special topic assigned to me is the Holy Eucharist. If the dogmatical, or the controversial, or the historical treatment of the subject were in question, I should feel obliged to decline the invitation so kindly extended to me. Centuries of controversy and very numerous dogmatical, historical, and liturgical treatises have already presented all that can be said upon the subject. A résumé of these is not now, perhaps, demanded. But the letter of the Bishops which has called out such copious correspondence seems to be an Eirenicon; and the Holy Eucharist is the LORD'S own Eirenicon,—not only the bond of love and union between Him and the faithful, but also the Sacrament of love and union throughout the members of His Mystical Body.

So viewed, my writing in haste will not be thinking hurriedly. Since I have no authority to speak for any other than myself, my words must, of course, seem to be merely individual opinion. But being what some call an "extreme High Churchman," or, what some of us claim to be, an Anglo-Catholic Christian, I will endeavor to present an Eirenicon from their point of view, not controversially, nor even offering proofs or references, but simply as a part of the call to unity in the bond of peace and Christian fellowship.

If the SAVIOUR of the world preserves us in union with Himself through this holy and blessed Sacrament, it should surely be the sign and seal of unity, as it is the source of unity among all believers. And if the history of Christendom in its later ages tells us another story, the fault is in us, not in Him or in the means which He has instituted.

Let us, in the first place, agree to say nothing of abuses or perversions on one side or the other. If high doctrine respecting the Holy Eucharist is to be held responsible for the super-

stitions with which sensual or degraded souls have ever overlaid it, the retort, "Tu quoque," is close at hand. Profanation and blasphemy which spared not the adorable REDEEMER Himself have been the protest of other sensual or degraded souls. Let us lay aside arguments from abuses. Politics of the baser sort employs that kind of argument; let us leave it there. One politician is accused of malfeasance in office. If the accusation is but too glaringly true, our "leading newspapers" retort, "You're another;" and, it seems, with fair success. But the union of Christendom is not to be promoted by the use of such weapons.

I seek only to call attention to certain facts which in these days may be sometimes overlooked, and to try to make some necessary inferences from those facts.

When, in past days, the Holy Eucharist has seemed to be an occasion of discord, the true cause of that must have been the lack of charity or the lack of faith in us. There have been grave misunderstandings also. Even such a comparatively minor point as kneeling at the reception of the gift has been called idolatry, on one side; the refusal to do so, profanity, on the other. Philosophy, Christian philosophy, if it please any one to call it so, has undertaken to give a rational account of the LORD'S mysterious words in instituting this Sacrament. And rationalism, substituted for simple faith, has asked the old question, "How can this Man give us His Flesh to eat?" I do not write for or against either of these. But addressing myself to those, whatever their Christian name may be, who desire to give all faith and love to the SAVIOUR of the world, I ask them whether the perpetual testimony to the everlasting love of JESUS needs to be counted among the barriers which separate us in these last days.

If we may make our inference from the articles that appeared in the April number of the CHURCH REVIEW, the question is easily answered. Only one of the twenty found serious difficulty in this direction [p. 80], and objection was made in that reply, not to the Bishops' Eirenicon, but, first, to those features of our Liturgy which it shares with all Liturgies throughout Christendom, at least until the Reformation, and, secondly, to the seeming disregard of a part of the Christian Faith. A possible answer to these objections will, I humbly hope, be found in the course of this article.

The Bishops who issued the invitation to union among Christians are the only authority which can explain their words respecting the Holy Eucharist. But it may be permitted to me to suggest that they have distinguished between *Sacramental* necessity and what may be called *moral* necessity. Some things are necessary for a valid Sacrament. Other things are necessary for decency and reverence, for suitable action toward GOD, and for a proper expression of faith and love.

I. SACRAMENTAL REQUISITES.

These are what the Bishops specified. Without them there can be no Sacrament, no Sacramental union among "those who profess and call themselves Christians." Those requisites are three in number.

1. There must be a lawful minister of the Sacrament. Since this commemoration is the outward as well as inward act of the united family of GOD, it needs a leader who may speak for all, the mouth-piece of all who are the "spiritual Priesthood, ordained to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to GOD through JESUS CHRIST." Viewed in this light alone, it may seem that the Holy Eucharist finds the authority of its minister only in the choice of those whom he represents.

But acting also in CHRIST's stead as the medium through which the loving gift of JESUS is bestowed, he must have received also from his LORD special authority and commission for that purpose. If any one assert that no special gift is bestowed on a worthy recipient of the Sacrament, or that however that may be, the only requisites for a valid administration and a lawful ministry are election by the brethren and an inward call (a call which none can attest but him to whom it is given), if any one assert that any Christian man, woman, or child has like authority to break bread and bless wine to be drunk in memory of the LORD's death, our way to union with him is barred. We have no common ground on which this Eirenicon can stand. I suppose that the Bishops imply, and the twenty respondents admit this first requisite for a valid Sacrament. The difficulty of the latter is found where I have no occasion to follow them; to wit, the deciding what constitutes a valid ordination of a minister of this Sacrament.

2. There must be the Divinely appointed action, the words

uttered, the material which the LORD blesses, and the outward act which employs and unites the word and the matter. There is no Sacrament without the bread and the wine, the words of Institution which the LORD employed, and the action of the minister which unites these. This also the Bishops implied, and the respondents accepted.

3. There must be a general intention on the part of those engaged to do what the LORD ordained. A mock celebration would be empty and blasphemous profanity, not a Sacrament. And I say a general intention, because it will not, I think, be maintained that a full understanding and agreement respecting what is done, is requisite. For who of us understands all that we say even when we utter the LORD'S prayer? And our child who understands less still, may say a truer prayer than we ourselves. So is it also with the Creed in which we profess our faith. As we move upward toward the Divine Light, many things grow clearer; but the clearest insight vouchsafed to an earthly saint does not pierce to the centre of the Divine mysteries. Therefore it appears that only a general intention on the part of minister or communicant is requisite, and not a full comprehension, provided only that he does not, in self-willed obstinacy, pride, unbelief, or hardness of heart, close his eyes to such light of truth as has been given to him. Even in that case it is not to be supposed that the sinfulness of the minister hinders whatever the love of JESUS may be ready to bestow. But I do not touch any mooted point respecting the secret intention of the minister of the Sacrament. I have in mind only the general intention of the family of GOD to obey their LORD'S command.

This leads us to the great question of the Christian Faith respecting the Holy Eucharist; but let it be deferred while we consider what have been called the moral requisites of a true celebration of this august Sacrament.

II. MORAL REQUISITES.

The Divine injunction that all "things be done decently and in order" unites with all due feelings of reverence and devotion to make that celebration the most solemn, the most august religious act of our holy religion. At the very lowest, and in what we Catholic Christians consider to be the most imperfect

view, it is our nearest approach to our SAVIOUR and to His Cross, on the one side, to His present glory on the other.

From this moral necessity has arisen the use of Liturgies dating from primitive ages, and special orders provided by the various Protestant bodies in modern times. Our Protestant brethren must not misunderstand our use of the word "Liturgy." Popularly employed for all forms of Christian worship which are not extemporary, it is used by us in its strict and narrower signification, as the ordered formula of the one perpetual and always obligatory service of Christian people, the appointed commemoration of the LORD'S sacrificial death. Around the three Sacramental requisites have clustered other words and acts, suited to express Christian love and faith, and intended for compliance with the command to "glorify GOD with our bodies and our souls, both of which are GOD'S."

Granting, as we freely do, that the Apostles and those whom they ordained for this purpose, preserved only the three Sacramental requisites as an invariable norm, and expressed their devotion in words spontaneously arising or Divinely inspired for the occasion, we think that no impartial inquirer will deny that certain forms became at once associated with Eucharistic worship. Among such forms are, the LORD'S Prayer, Eucharistic hymns like the *Sanctus*, an oblation of the elements previously to their being blessed as the Sacrament, and other such ritual observances. These were the germs of the Liturgy of S. James, of S. Mark, or some other primitive form. The preservation of what are essentially the same forms among the oldest sects of Oriental heretics, and the agreement between Churches so widely separated as those of Gaul and Egypt, Ephesus, Africa, and Spain, are conclusive respecting the primitive, we might venture to say the Apostolic origin of the chief features of the Liturgy. The external evidence is, to say the very least, as strong as that for the Canon of the New Testament. We think it to be a note of the Historic Church that in so important a matter the primitive path is still pursued. And I will venture to add that the internal evidence of the spiritual power of the Divine Liturgy is quite as great as that of the Books of the Kings, the Song of Solomon, or the Epistle of S. James.

But this letter is not a dissertation on Liturgies, and therefore its author is not called on to specify the points of agreement which indicate the common source in Apostolic days of the

chief primitive Liturgies. We are ready to show, if necessary, that the Liturgy of the Anglo-Catholic Church is one with those primitive norms, but that is not now in question.

In the Bishops' invitation to union, and in the twenty articles of reply, there was entire reticence respecting what I have called the "moral requisites." The Bishops, it is to be supposed, understood that the outward expressions of faith and love vary according as all human institutions are variable. If sitting at the reception of the Holy Communion means a wilful denial of what the Catholic Church is obliged to teach, then sitting would be condemned by her, along with the unbelief from which it springs. But in this year of the LORD 1890 it is possible that a penitent, loving, faithful Christian may approach his GOD, and have His SAVIOUR make special approach to him, while he is sitting and not kneeling, having never learned or practised any other gesture. He removes his hat, he closes his eyes, he has his own ritual observances, and will have them until his day for ritual observances is past; and he rests in hope of a joyful resurrection. On that day of the LORD'S return and the rising again in glorified humanity of all his people, he will make no objection to the "extreme ritual" which S. John saw in vision, and he will see in reality. But at present the Bishops seemed to admit that, so far as we are concerned, a company of faithful people might be duly observing the Sacramental requisites, might be one with us, without those moral requisites which the customs of the Catholic Church have preserved.

III. SACRAMENTAL INTENTION.

It is not what Christians *believe* which divides them; it is their doubt, their denial of what is affirmed. But it is not doubt or denial which is the work of faith; it is not that which unites them to their LORD and SAVIOUR. Suppose, then, that the three Sacramental requisites are duly observed, what will their faith and love attest? The LORD may be for them, He may do for them far more than their hearts conceive; but what will they *intend*?

1. All Christian people desire to commemorate the Sacrifice of JESUS, which was consummated on His Cross. All desire to adore Him as their LORD, King and Priest forever, ever living to make intercession for them through the merits of

His Cross and Passion. They believe that He is now presenting Himself, in His glorified human nature, Priest and Victim, Victim once slain, now glorified through shameful death and transfigured Resurrection.

2. All Christians believe that they are "a holy Priesthood" before GOD, permitted and enjoined to plead the merits of their once slain REDEEMER, and to have their prayers for themselves and their intercessions for one another presented by their great High-Priest, with whom, by whom, and in whom, they approach their gracious GOD. There is but one meritorious sacrifice continually offered. He "ever liveth to make intercession" for them. This is the one spiritual sacrifice to which they unite the oblation of themselves, "presenting their souls and bodies a living sacrifice," acceptable in the Beloved.

3. All Christians believe that in this action some spiritual gift is bestowed on them so far as their penitence, faith, and love have qualified them to receive it. Just what that gift may be, what are the means which the LORD employs for their salvation, they may not clearly understand. The result of it is what has all their attention; to wit, their union with their LORD, and their growth in His likeness through their union with Him.

Whatever more is true, these three things are true, and he must have a very contracted soul who can fancy that those who endeavor faithfully to observe all that their LORD commanded, and have all that is sacramentally requisite, are rejected by Him because of their limited knowledge, and the consequent imperfection of their faith.

4. But another is more fully instructed, and has gone farther in knowledge of the mystery of Redemption. The special gift bestowed in Holy Communion, the special means employed for his salvation, is a participation of what the LORD of glory took to Himself, when "for us men and for our salvation, He came down from heaven, and was Incarnate by the HOLY GHOST of the Virgin Mary." He is "the living bread which came down from heaven." The fruits of this Christian's fuller faith may be no more than those of the imperfect faith of his brother. And yet his fuller faith is a good gift, and should have yielded more abundant fruit.

5. Another calls to mind the spiritualized and glorified nature of his REDEEMER, and remembers His Sacramental words,

"This," which I break, "is my Body." And he believes, not understanding "how this Man can give us His Flesh to eat." But he adores his SAVIOUR, who has found out earthly means to come so near, ever since He was incarnate for us. The fruits of his faith may be less than his brother's are, though they ought to be more, since his faith is more truly adapted to all the length and breadth of his compound humanity.

6. Finally, another remembers that the LORD appointed an outward and visible Sacramental action; that He said, not merely, "Eat this in remembrance of Me," but, "This do for My memorial;" that He appointed a certain action,—the taking into the hands and breaking, with benediction and giving of thanks, the doing all that from which the Sacrament obtains its name of Holy Eucharist. This is seen to require a duly commissioned representative of CHRIST, as well as a representative of the brethren, one whose authority comes from above, and not merely from the spiritual Priesthood of the faithful people. Such an office is, outwardly, what all inwardly possess and exercise. If theirs is a spiritual Priesthood, his is an outward and visible one, representing the other, which is only such because of union with the one true "Priest forever." What the faithful do inwardly, through CHRIST, in CHRIST, and with Him, that is done outwardly and visibly, in an outward and visible Sacrament, for them and with them, by their representative, who is also their SAVIOUR'S representative, in, through, and by the one Mediator between GOD and man, the Man CHRIST JESUS.

Such a fuller faith believes that all this is true whether all the brethren have it in mind or not. But who has such authority and outward Priesthood, and how such authority is conferred by the LORD in these last days, are not questions now before us. They belong to that fourth condition of union among Christians of which the respondents to the Bishops have had much to say.

I will only add that when the Divine Liturgy is used, all these six points of intention are clearly expressed, whether they are fully in the mind of the celebrant or not. But since the use of it is not a Sacramental necessity, and since a full understanding of it is not requisite, but only a general intention to do what the LORD commanded, it would seem that those may be united on earth as they are joined in the LORD, whose

faith, not rejecting any light which it has received, is yet not wholly upon what we regard as the highest plane of supernatural truth.

IV. THE LITURGY AND FREE PRAYER.

It is a question sometimes asked, Are Christians to be tied down to an unvarying form of prayer, while their needs are varying from day to day? Have they not the privilege of going to their FATHER, and saying to Him their special desires and needs, according as their own hearts may prompt them? And is this liberty, if they have it, confined to their own private devotions?

But the answer readily appears. The Liturgy is, indeed, an unvarying form in which the Mystical Body of CHRIST appears with Him before the FATHER'S throne. But it has a place for what is one of its moral requisites, intercessions for the living and the departed members of the LORD. Nothing hinders their being named personally. That is a matter of custom and convenience. But I have heard them named in a "ritualistic" Church, and have used the same privilege myself, under suitable circumstances.

Restore, also, the unvarying norm of worship, the Liturgy,— and what Christian can find it in his heart to object to it?— and then, at other times, Church order allows, or may allow, varied prayers. The Daily Morning and Evening Prayer of the Prayer-Book are pretty well understood to be the regular offices of the clergy and Church institutions, providing for their use the regular reciting of the Christian's inspired Hymnal, the Bible Psalms, and regular reading in course of the Sacred Scriptures.

Outside of these, loyal and faithful Christians may receive license for other prayers, more specially adapted to the special occasion, and the Bishops, within their own jurisdiction, more and more frequently give such license. And this, if I am not mistaken, is most freely done where the Divine Liturgy is most frequently and regularly used. If I may be allowed to use personal illustration, it was in a Cathedral where it is daily used, that while holding a mission there, I had the Bishop's permission to use special prayers for that special occasion.

Whenever the Holy Eucharist shall become what the LORD made it, His own Eirenicon among Christians, there will surely

be no difficulty respecting free prayer, which some Christian societies may approve, while others more carefully restrict it.

V. WHAT SHALL THE CHURCH TEACH RESPECTING THE HOLY EUCHARIST?

As Anglo-Catholics, we answer to ourselves, "What the Church has always taught in and through the Liturgy, which is her perpetually living voice." This is an unvarying, living voice, louder, clearer, and more authoritative than all the sermons, Papal Bulls, Confessions, Articles of Religion, or what not, which may issue from any man or any part of the Christian Church, for the instruction and guidance of the faithful.

But one of the twenty respondents finds a difficulty respecting teaching [p. 80], and asks, "On the one hand, why, by such a proposition do they (the Bishops) allow the addition to the words of Institution of those prayers and ceremonies by which the Holy Communion is presented as a sacrifice for sin, an offering for the living and the dead? And, on the other hand, are they able to ignore the historical faith of the Church in the Real Presence of our LORD in the Holy Sacrament? Is not this of faith too, and can we, dare we intimate that it is of secondary importance?"

The first question, I beg the writer of the article to notice, is not a reply to the Bishops' Eirenicon, because they said nothing at all of the use of any of the ancient or modern liturgies as a condition of union. Therefore the writer was objecting to our usage, to that of the Greek and Latin Churches, to that of every Church which from Apostolic times has used the Liturgy of S. James, of S. Mark, or any other. He was not called upon to accept such use for himself and his brethren. The question proposed to him was whether or not he could be in outward communion with those who did accept and use such a Liturgy.

Our reply to the second question is, that those very Liturgies are the chief witnesses, after the Word of GOD, to the "historical faith of the Church in the Real Presence of our LORD in the Holy Sacrament." There is no one of them in which it is not as clearly expressed as in that which the Bishops use. Viewed simply as a commentary on the LORD'S own Eucharistic words, they show the clearest, the most unanimous agreement.

It is most emphatically denied that those ancient Liturgies, or that of the Anglican Church, which is derived from them and follows them in all important particulars, present the Holy Eucharist as a repetition of the one sacrifice forever offered for the remission of sins. Pretending to repeat that, is blasphemy against CHRIST; but to be allowed to join ourselves in what He is doing forever at the right hand of GOD, is the most precious privilege of His earthly Body, the "Spiritual Priesthood." And that is what the Liturgy enables us to do in the most reverent, solemn, and august manner.

In asserting this we are, under compulsion, defending ourselves, not the Bishops' Eirenicon.

Let us, then, take it up again. Our last topic is before us, the objection, "What, then, shall the Church teach respecting the Holy Eucharist?" Has the spiritual Body of CHRIST, has the "Ecclesia docens," any teaching to give the contrite, believing, loving soul? If she "ignores" any part of the Faith, or "makes it of secondary importance," is she complying with her SAVIOUR'S command to teach all her people whatever He revealed and commanded? If Eucharistic faith is believed to be anywhere imperfect among the followers of the LORD, is she not bound to lead all onward and upward to a higher and truer faith?

1. In this form, the objection of our Lutheran brother, which, he may well understand, is equally objection on the part of Anglo-Catholics, is not to the teaching of Liturgy and Catechism, but to what he regards, and must regard, as the imperfect teaching of our Protestant friends. We might well leave the answer to those who issued the Eirenicon, and are answerable for the teaching of that part of the Church which is committed to their care. But we might ask our Lutheran friends whether they are thus shut out from union with other Protestants. Or do they admit that others may have a gift beyond what they know, expect, or believe? Would union cause Lutheran Christians to renounce or lose their higher faith and the teaching of it?

2. I am regarding the question from another's point of view. But from our own we see what does not appear to be familiar to our Protestant friends. With them the individual preacher may stand on a higher platform, checked by the Bible, which each hearer interprets according to his best ability. A

Church which has the continual use of the Liturgy in the mother-tongue, and an open Bible daily read in her courts, is teaching with that living voice which our Roman brethren seem to think can only be found in an infallible earthly head. Bible and Liturgy are the infallible earthly voice of the DIVINE SPIRIT speaking outwardly and inwardly to the faithful. It is higher than all the preachers, more authoritative than all the Bishops; it speaks clearly and continuously age after age; it is older than Confessions and Articles, but it is always new and freshly applied to the difficulties of the time and the needs of each individual soul. The Holy Word is spoken as the LORD and His Apostles spoke it; but it is applied and interpreted in being turned into prayer and adoration. The *lex orandi* is the *lex credendi* and the *lex docendi*.

How far authority in the Christian Church is bound to follow the oral teaching of each minister of Sacraments, and require a strict conformity to the law of prayer, belief, and teaching, is a question of Church discipline on which I would rather not touch. But it is plain that the louder, clearer, and more authoritative voice of the whole Church is approving or rejecting his poor murmur and echo of some part of the unchangeable deposit, whenever he ceases to preach and begins to utter the obligatory words of the Liturgy.

3. It must be plain to all that the Bishops did not propose that they or the Church over which they preside should cease to use the Liturgy at all times when the Holy Eucharist is celebrated, or should leave its use optional with any one whom they ordained. They could not make such a proposition, and certainly the Church for which they spoke would not sanction their action if they did.

The only practical question, therefore, was of restoration of outward and visible communion, on the basis of the three Sacramental requisites, with those who have discarded, or have never used the Liturgy. Each individual Christian man, each congregation of Christian men, and each organized association of believers will, I suppose, consider, accept, or reject, as GOD shall give them light to consider and to judge. But, be that as it may, the Church for which the Bishops speak will continue to teach, as she has received, the unalterable Creed, to use the unalterable Liturgy, and to leave open the door to all that will enter.

Her constitutional law, which is practically unalterable, a law just renewed in this country in Prayer-Book revision, says that "there shall none be admitted to Holy Communion until such time as he be confirmed, or ready and desirous to be confirmed." This implies that if so confirmed, and if there be no moral obstacle which Church discipline is bound to consider, he shall be so admitted. Hence the door is open, and, so far as lies in us, there is intercommunion through the length and breadth of those three ancient Churches of Christendom, the Greek, Latin, and Anglican. For our law without question admits to Holy Eucharist any Christian man from any of these Churches, or any other Christian who is "ready and desirous to be confirmed."

That confirmation, on the part of each and every one who receives it, carries with it a recognition of the "Historic Episcopate." And it hardly seems credible that any Christian who gives such recognition would refuse the "laying on of hands."

This is fundamental law in the Greek, Latin, and Anglican Churches. The Bishops said nothing of it in their overtures to our Protestant brethren; so one might infer that they did not regard this form of recognition of their Divine office as an essential to intercommunion with themselves. But they are the sole interpreters of their own words. The writer of this article has quoted no authorities for his statements, and would have added none, if the Editor of the CHURCH REVIEW had not intimated something of this kind. Among familiar and easily accessible works which confirm his chief statements may be mentioned, Daniel's *Codex Liturgicus*, Neale's *Tetralogia Liturgica*, Bright's *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, Forbes A. Corse's *Eirenicon*, or, latest and excellent, Swainson's *Greek Liturgies*, London, 1884.

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The Validity of Non-Episcopal Ordination.

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The Validity of Non-Episcopal Ordination. The Dudleian Lecture delivered in the Chapel of Harvard University, on Oct. 28, 1888, by GEORGE PARK FISHER, D.D., LL.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1888.

IT is interesting from time to time to examine the arguments of able men against the Church's theory of the ministry, in order that we may not deceive ourselves by any blind reliance upon the security of our own position. In the pamphlet before us we have quite the most learned statement on "the other side" which has appeared in America for many years; for Professor Fisher's lecture is important as presenting in a very ingenious and complicated manner the whole argument against Episcopacy, and also as indicating conclusively the real question at issue in this well-worn debate. Its ostensible object is to disprove the claims of Episcopacy. Its real object is to deny the existence of any authorized ministry at all. And yet so cautiously, so delicately are the two things blended together in the lecture that it is difficult upon the first reading to determine with any precision the several divisions of the argument. Everything of positive or negative value that has ever been suggested against the superiority of Bishops is ingeniously brought in from time to time, and is reinforced by the underlying assumption of the absence of any authorized organization, until the reader is apt to consider the argument as strong against Episcopacy without realizing fully its ulterior object. The following extracts from different portions of the lecture may serve to clear the ground.

The real object to be proved is stated as follows: —

We desire to guard against the Sacerdotal theory of the ministry, which separates the clergy as a distinct, self-perpetuating body in the Church, — as a close corporation, — from the laity. Against this theory the Reformers in all Protestant lands uttered an emphatic protest. They

asserted for the congregation, the general company of Christian people, the right to call their ministers, and to provide for their induction into office [p. 20].

The purpose of the ministry was to perform acts which the flock, according to the principles of the Gospel, was empowered to perform, but which, from the nature of the case, it must perform through agents and instruments [p. 22].

The theory of a clerical society, independent of the laity in virtue of its power to shut out from the ministry whom it will, and having in its hands the exclusive authority to dispense the Sacrament, is good Romanism, but not sound Protestantism [p. 22].

The true theory, then, according to the lecturer, is that all Christians are equally authorized to "dispense the Sacrament" and govern the Church; the performance of these offices is intrusted to certain men by the congregation; there is no separate class of men who can be called clergy in the sense that they have any special Divine authority in what they do distinct from laymen. In other words, the visible Church is an accident of human association, and its organization as a society was the result of natural circumstances, but not antecedently necessary for the progress of the Gospel.

Thus we are enabled to understand the positiveness, otherwise extraordinary, of the following description of the organization of the early Church; namely,—

Organization was a gradual thing. There was from the outset a profession of faith in JESUS as the CHRIST; there was baptism, initiating the convert into the company, scattered far and wide, of His followers. These followers were associated in fraternities in the several towns where they lived. Certain offices after models furnished by Jewish synagogues, and partly, it would seem, by Gentile societies, both universal and private, grew up one after another as necessity called for them, and Deacons and Deaconesses to look after the poor; . . . Pastors to whom is given a kind of oversight, . . . the title Bishop and Elder applied to them indiscriminately.

This, then, is the great result of all S. Paul's words about the Church, of all his claims to authority: this poor, weak, uncertainly organized "association of fraternities" is the actual realization of that kingdom which occupies so large a share of the LORD'S teaching,—which was founded upon a rock and against which the gates of hell should not prevail; this is "the Church

of the Living GOD, the pillar and ground of the truth," "the Body of CHRIST," in which, according to the Apostle, GOD, and not man, had established differences of office and function, and had set "first some Apostles, secondarily Prophets, thirdly teachers" [1 Cor. xii. 28]. This theory of "municipal offices" and "Gentile societies" is something for which we should be glad to see some positive evidence. (Professor Fisher does not accept Hatch's imagination about "Episcopal Almoners.") It accords well with the theory of no Church and no ministry, and would be an interesting question, provided that there were no such documents as the New Testament writings, and no such thing as Church history.

Quite consistently we are told that the terms denoting ordination were the same as those which signified election or appointment to civil office; and "the laying on of hands is not enumerated in several passages of ancient authorities,—for example, in one passage in the *Apostolic Constitutions*,¹ where the essentials of ordination are set down as included among them."

To be sure, there is an awkward passage in S. Paul's II. Epistle to Timothy [i. 6], where he says, "Stir up the gift of GOD which is in thee, by means of the laying on of my hands" [c. v. 14], but this is easily disposed of with the remark, "The gift of Timothy was his fitness for the work to which he was appointed. It rested, like all the various gifts of the SPIRIT [1 Cor. xii.], on native qualities, the basis of a vocation from above, but further quickened and guided by the SPIRIT of grace. Prayer with the imposition of hands was a supplication for the SPIRIT'S influence" [p. 9].

This elaborate explanation, though rather subtle, is highly interesting, but seems quite unnecessary to those who are satisfied with the universally received practice and teaching of the Church in late years, and are therefore under no necessity to explain

¹ It would hardly be inferred from this statement that the *Apostolical Constitutions* distinctly declare that Bishops and Priests and Deacons must all be ordained by the imposition of hands, and yet this is unquestionably the fact [viii. 46]. The lecturer (misled by Hatch) has found a short chapter, one page long, concerning the ordination of Bishops, where the phrase "laying on of hands" does not occur, but only the word *cheirotonein*, and therefore argues that there was no "laying on of hands;" when a few chapters farther on "laying on of hands" is almost necessarily included by the bearing of the context in *cheirotonein*. The use of S. Augustine's name against the effect of imposition of hands is positively amazing. No man ever used stronger language about the Sacramental character of ordination [for example, *De Bon. Conj.* xxiv.].

away Timothy's *charisma*, or to doubt that when he was instructed to lay hands on other men for the work of the ministry, he intended to convey to them the gift which he in the same manner had himself received.

But the discussion of the manner and effect of ordination forms only a part of a wider argument, or rather statement of the non-Sacerdotal character of the ministry; namely, —

This early Episcopacy was not Sacerdotal, but governmental. We find that in the second century Christian ministers were not clothed with the attributes of a Priesthood. To Irenæus and the other Fathers down to the period of Cyprian, or the middle of the third century, Bishops were not looked upon as Priests. Even the germs of such a view are not to be discerned until near the end of the second century [p. 7].

In this passage the ominous word is of course "Sacerdotal," and Bishops are synonymous with Presbyters, that being the point assumed immediately before. What then is this "Sacerdotalism," of which not even "the germs" appear "until near the end of the second century"? We have a definition of it given on page 22; namely, —

The theory of a clerical society, independent of the laity in virtue of its power to shut out from the ministry whom it will, and having in its hands the exclusive authority to dispense the Sacrament, —

or in other words, the theory taught in the Preface to the Ordinal in the Book of Common Prayer, that no man shall be accounted a lawful minister except he have been ordained by one having authority. This is a true Sacerdotalism, we admit; but we are afraid that we cannot accept the statement that "even the germs of it do not appear until near the end of the second century." If Sacerdotalism mean that a man must be appointed by one already in authority before he can minister in the Church, then S. Paul was a Sacerdotalist, and so were Timothy and Titus; for they all exercised authority which was distinctly conferred on them from above and not from the people. Against these unquestioned positive examples of authority derived from above, no one ever yet has produced an instance of a minister exercising authority in the early Church who derived that authority from the congregation. Indeed, Clement of Rome, the first of the Apostolic Fathers, as early as A. D. 95 seems to be a Sacer-

dotalist [for example, *Ep. ad Cor.* ch. xl., xli., xlii.]. (The Edinburgh translation.)

These therefore being manifest to us, and since we look into the depths of the Divine knowledge, it behooves us to do all things in their proper order which the LORD has commanded us to perform at stated times. He has enjoined offerings to be presented, and service to be performed to Him, and that not thoughtlessly or irregularly, but at the appointed times and hours. Where and by whom He desires these things to be done, He Himself has fixed by His own supreme will, in order that all things, being piously done according to His good pleasure, may be acceptable unto Him. Those, therefore, who present their offerings at the appointed times are accepted and blessed, for inasmuch as they follow the laws of the LORD, they sin not. For His own peculiar services are assigned to the High-Priest, and their own proper place is prescribed to the Priests, and their own special ministrations devolve on the Levites. The layman is bound by the laws that pertain to laymen. Let every one of you, brethren, give thanks (*eucharisteito*, make his Eucharist) to GOD in his own order, living in all good conscience, with becoming gravity, and not going beyond the rule of the ministry prescribed to him. . . . The Apostles have preached the Gospel to us from the LORD JESUS CHRIST; JESUS CHRIST from GOD. CHRIST therefore was sent forth by GOD, and the Apostles by CHRIST. Both these appointments, then, were made in an orderly way, according to the will of GOD. Having therefore received their orders, and being fully assured by the resurrection of our LORD JESUS CHRIST and established in the Word of GOD, with full assurance of the HOLY GHOST, they went forth proclaiming that the Kingdom of GOD was at hand. And thus preaching through countries and cities, they appointed the first-fruits of their labors, having first proved them by the SPIRIT, to be Bishops and Deacons of those who should afterward believe. . . . And what wonder is it if those in CHRIST who were intrusted with such a duty by GOD, appointed those (ministers) before mentioned, when the blessed Moses also, 'a faithful servant in all his house,' noted down in the sacred books all the injunctions which were given him? . . . For when rivalry arose concerning the Priesthood, and the tribes were contending among themselves as to which of them should be adorned with that glorious title, he commanded the twelve princes of the tribes to bring him their rods, etc. . . . Did not Moses know beforehand that this would happen? . . . Our Apostles also knew, through our LORD JESUS CHRIST, that there would be strife on account of the office of the Episcopate. For this reason, therefore, inasmuch as they had obtained a perfect foreknowledge of this, they appointed those (ministers) already mentioned, and afterwards gave instructions that when these should fall asleep other approved men should succeed them in the min-

istry. We are of opinion therefore that those appointed by them (the Apostles) or afterwards by other eminent men, with the consent of the whole Church, and who have blamelessly served, etc., cannot justly be dismissed from the ministry.

It is hard to escape the conclusion that in S. Clement's mind the ministry derived its authority by delegation from the Apostles, and the Apostles from CHRIST; and that to question their special right to the office was to sin with Korah and his company. Leaving out of view for the present the suggestion of the three Orders by the mention of High-Priest,¹ Priest, and Levite, in connection with an instruction on the Christian ministry, and minimizing or secularizing the phraseology as much as possible, it does seem (remembering our definition of real "Sacerdotalism") that we have here a "germ" sufficiently potential to account for the strong doctrine of Ignatius,² twenty years afterward. As already said above, it is quite easy to assume that there was no authorized ministry, and that one Christian had as much authority to "dispense the Sacrament" as another; and it is interesting to note how a great mind can make this theory fit in with the facts, but we should like to have one single positive fragment of evidence to support it. It certainly cannot be found in the New Testament. There the line was clearly drawn between the laity and those who were "over them in the LORD" [1 Thess. v. 12], just as it had been by the Jews before. There were men who had authority to rebuke, to exhort, to warn, and to whose care the people were committed as a flock to the Shepherd [Acts xx. 28]. There were "Apostles" and "Elders" as well as "brethren," and the perpetuity of the system was provided for in the in-

¹ The word "high-priest" (*archiereus*) occurs in the *Didache* [A. D. 90] as the designation of an officer in the Christian Church superior to Bishops and Deacons [xiii. 3]. Dr. Schaff calls this the "first intimation of the 'Sacerdotal view'" [p. 206 n.].

² Ignatius [A. D. 110] says: "In like manner let all men respect the Deacons as JESUS CHRIST, even as they should respect the Bishops as being a type of the FATHER and the Presbyters as the council of God and as the college of Apostles. Apart from these there is not even the name of a Church" [*Ep. ad Tral.* 3]. "He that is within the sanctuary (*thysiasterion*) is clean; but he that is without the sanctuary is not clean, — that is, he that doeth ought without the Bishop and Presbytery and Deacons, this man is not clean in his conscience" [*Ibid.* 7]. Ignatius is so intent on the authority of the Bishops that he does not stop their succession with the Apostles, but traces it back to CHRIST Himself. And so the lecture makes a point and gravely informs us [p. 13] that Ignatius "deems the Bishops to be successors, not of the Apostles, but of CHRIST."

structions to Timothy and Titus, to "commit the traditions to faithful men who shall teach others" also, and "to ordain Elders in every city." In the only ordination of officers recorded, the people elected, but the authorized ministry ordained [cf. Article "Laity" in Smith's *Dict. Chris. Antiq.*]. It is no reply to this to say that the government under the Apostles was extraordinary; for the very fact that it was "extraordinary" — not only "extraordinary," but inspired — might guarantee the conclusion that their constitutional distinctions were of a necessary and permanent character. If a regular minister was deemed necessary at a time when miraculous gifts were common, how much more when miracles had ceased! It is a notorious fact that, three generations afterward, the whole Church, insisting upon the integrity of its traditions, did so regard them; and yet we are asked to assume, without positive evidence, that two revolutions took place in the mean time, — first, a reversal of the constitution which obtained under the Apostles, and a substitution of another copied from Jewish and Gentile models, and second, a revolution returning again to the original constitution.

For this is the all-important question: Was the authority exercised by the Christian ministry delegated to them by those in authority before them, or were they only accidental and provisional officers who were appointed by the people as imitations of Jewish and Gentile civil and municipal officers? If the latter view is true, then we ignore the inspiration in any special sense of the New Testament,¹ and we are to suppose that in one hundred years the Christian Church had completely revolutionized the primitive teaching and practice, and we have an instance of something evolved by natural process out of nothing. Then we shall say that the word or words used to describe "ordination" meant nothing more to the Christians than they did when used to describe the heathen appointments to civil offices. Why not go on and say that baptism, being a Greek

¹ Dr. Hatch, upon whose *Bampton Lectures* this view, as stated in the lecture, is based, frankly admits that he is treating the question of ecclesiastical organization without regard to the New Testament evidence [p. 20], and assuming that the origin of the Christian Church can be accounted for like any fact in civil history, "without any special interposition of that mysterious and extraordinary action of the Divine volition which, for want of a better term, we speak of as 'supernatural'" [p. 18]. This sounds like the title which the Deist Toland gave to his work, "Christianity not mysterious."

word meaning washing, can have no special Christian significance? So with Eucharist and Ecclesia,—had they no special meaning as used, for example, by S. Paul? Is it not true, as Prof. A. V. G. Allen [*Continuity, etc.*, p. 224] says, that the question is deeper than that of the ministry,—that the real point is whether there is a supernatural as distinguished from a natural order, and that the moment you admit that there is, then you open the way for a Sacerdotal conception of the Church with ministry and sacraments? But let us do away with the idea that ordination means anything, or that the Church means anything, then we shall fall back upon a most seductive but most destructive Pantheism which leaves no room for sin or sacrament, for ministry or Churches, or for the Incarnation itself.

It is evident that if it be assumed that there is no authorized ministry at all, any discussion of the origin of Episcopacy is superfluous. Therefore this fundamental question has received a longer notice, although the greater part of Professor Fisher's lecture is taken up with a discussion of Episcopacy. He admits that there was no period when the Presbyters and Deacons did not have a superior officer over them. He also admits that the position of S. James at Jerusalem, and of Timothy and Titus in Ephesus and Crete, was practically that of modern Bishops [pp. 10 and 14]. He also sees in the tradition which ascribes the Episcopal organization in Asia Minor to the Apostle John "a kernel of truth" [p. 14]. We might ask what more could be desired? But we are met by the reply that the Episcopacy which succeeded the New Testament period was not "roving" nor "Diocesan," but "parochial." But we reply that makes no real difference, for if you admit that there was one officer associated with a number of Presbyters and having superior authority, the principle of Episcopacy is proved, whether they were roving or confined to one city, or to one parish, or to one room. It is not a question of names nor of places, but of an office and authority. The language of the lecture is as follows; namely,—

If Diocesan Episcopacy had followed these, the work fulfilled by the Evangelists (Timothy and Titus) might plausibly be considered the beginning of it, and later Bishops might be thought to be their lineal successors. But the office of the early Bishops, when they became distinguished from other Presbyters, was not at all a roving Episcopate. It was a local or parochial Episcopate or superintendence,—as com-

pletely so as the office of any Presbyterian or Congregational pastor at the present day.

In other words, the assumption of "no authorized ministry," which underlies the whole lecture, takes the force out of all admissions in favor of Episcopacy. This "parochial Episcopate" means simply the charge of a congregation by one pastor, himself authorized by the people, and assisted (!) by a company of Elders, who themselves have no ministerial functions or authority. This the lecture admits was not the kind of Episcopacy exercised by Timothy and Titus; therefore there was no precedent for it. It was not the Episcopate known to Irenaeus in A. D. 175, therefore it was not continued in the Church. And just why it should be imagined here without one line of positive evidence is hard to see.

Yet it renders the further discussion of Episcopacy practically useless, for if we are allowed to assume every time that Episcopacy is mentioned by an early writer that it refers to a single pastor with lay Elders in charge of his flock, then any theory can be established. Ignatius, for example (whose date, by the way, is "determined" with sufficient "positiveness" to place it between 108 and 112 A. D., — cf. Lightfoot *Ap. F. I.* 30), is disposed of with the remark that "his Bishops are local or parochial," which is true only in the sense that perhaps his Bishops did not exercise their jurisdictions over areas as large as modern Dioceses. It is pure assumption to say that Ignatius' Bishops were "parochial" in any other sense.

Again, it is impossible to discuss the question fairly when the mind is confused by inaccurate conceptions of what the real point at issue is. Churchmen hold that there are two facts which raise a strong presumption in favor of the principle of Episcopal government; namely, the fact that the whole Church after S. Cyprian [250 A. D.], to take a late date, maintained the principle not only as historically true but as essential,¹ and sec-

¹ Eusebius, "the Father of Ecclesiastical History," wrote his history of the Church in 340 A. D., and by the authority of the Emperor had access to all the records. He made faithful use of the libraries in Cæsarea and Jerusalem, and has preserved fragments of many valuable documents which have since been lost. A detailed account of his sources of information, sixty in number, has been given by Flugge. [Cf. Schaff. *Ap. Ch.* p. 52.] Eusebius gives in his history, as a matter of course, the succession of Bishops from the Apostles in Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, and Cæsarea. Episcopal government is evidently the only kind of Church government that he ever heard of.

ondly, the fact that the *principle* is clearly indicated in the New Testament, and this is even a stronger presumption than that for the Canon of Scripture. Against this, admitting all that may be said about the unfixedness of nomenclature in a formative period, no positive evidence can be adduced, however much inferences may be drawn from the silence of two or three documents whose negative value vanishes before the positive statements of contemporaries. Yet the lecture informs us that the question is whether we can find any Apostolic decree on this subject [p. 10], and this is repeated two or three times. We might as well look for an "Apostolic decree" on the subject of the Divinity of CHRIST or the Canon of Scripture.

Why should nearly two pages of the lecture be taken up with the possible significance of the silence of the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, and of Polycarp to the Philippians, when we have positive evidence of considerable value that both Clement and Polycarp were themselves Bishops? [Iren. *Cont. Her.* iii. 3, 3, Ignatius *Ad Polyc.* *Martyrdom of Polycarp.*] No just inference against its Episcopal character can be drawn from the absence of Bishops in the American Church during the period before the Revolution. Negative arguments are of small value, especially when opposed to positive evidence and when urged in defence of a case which has the burden of proof to bear. However, without recounting the clear evidence of Hegesippus [150], Polycrates [175], and Tertullian [200], Churchmen may safely rest their case on the testimony of Irenæus. As Bishop Lightfoot has said concerning the Canon of Scripture: —

It is high time that fascinating speculations should be shaken off, and that Englishmen (or Americans?) should learn to exercise their judicial faculty independently. Any one who will take the pains to read Irenæus through carefully, endeavoring to enter into his historical position in all its bearings, striving to realize what he and his contemporaries actually thought about the writings of the New Testament, and what grounds they had for thinking it, and *above all, resisting the temptation to read in modern theories between the lines*, will be in a more favorable position for judging rightly of the early history of the Canon than if he had studied all the monographs which have issued from the German press during the last half-century [*Essay on Sup. Rel.* p. 141].

What is true of the Canon is equally true of the Episcopate; for the life of Irenæus extends over the period from about 120

A. D. to 175 A. D. He represented three Churches at least, situated in different quarters of the world; namely, Asia Minor, Rome, and Gaul,—having been brought up in Asia Minor, having frequently visited Rome, and being himself Bishop of Lyons in Gaul. He was a pupil of S. John's disciple, Polycarp, and he lived for years in daily companionship with Polycarp, who must have been, from the evidence, ten years old when S. John died. Irenæus' testimony to the succession of the Episcopate occurs incidentally (all the stronger for that) in his work against Heresies [iii. 3, 1],¹ and is contained in the well-known passage:

The tradition, therefore, of the Apostles, made manifest in all the world, all may look back upon, who wish to see things truly. And we are able to recount those whom the Apostles appointed to be Bishops in the Churches, and their successors quite down to our time, who neither taught nor knew any such thing as they fondly devise. Yet surely if the Apostles had known any hidden mysteries, which they used to teach the perfect, apart and unknown to the rest, they would deliver it to those even more than others to whom they were intrusting the Churches themselves. For very perfect and blameless in all things would they have them to be whom they were leaving to be their actual successors, committing to them their own place of presidency, whose correct dealing would be a great advantage, their failure again an extreme calamity. But because it were very long in such a work as this to reckon up the successions in all the Churches, there is one very great and most ancient and known to all the Church founded at Rome, etc.

He then gives the names of the Roman Bishops; namely, Linus, Anencletus, Clement, Evarestus, Alexander, Xystus, Telesphorus, Hyginus, etc.

In other places Irenæus sometimes applies the word “presbyters” to the Bishops, very justly too, because a general must be

¹ Traditionem itaque Apostolorum in toto mundo manifestatam in omni ecclesia adest respicere omnibus qui vera velint videre; et habemus annumerare eos qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt episcopi in ecclesiis et successores eorum usque ad nos qui nihil tale docuerunt neque cognoverunt quale ab his deliratur. Etenim si recondita mysteria scissent Apostoli, quæ seorsim et latenter ab reliquis perfectos docebant, his vel maxime traderent ea quibus etiam ipsas ecclesias committebant. Valde enim perfectos et irreprehensibiles in omnibus eos volebant esse, quos et successores relinquunt, suum ipsorum locum magisterii tradentes; quibus emendati agentibus fieret magna utilitas lapsis autem summa calamitas. Sed quoniam valde longum est in hoc tali volumine omnium ecclesiarum enumerare successiones, maximæ et antiquissimæ et omnibus cognitæ, a gloriosissimis duobus Apostolis Petro et Paulo Romæ fundatae, etc. [iii. 3, 1].

a soldier, and a Bishop is nothing if not a Priest. But from this fact we have the extraordinary inference [p. 14] that Irenæus "held to no essential distinction between the respective functions of 'bishop' and 'presbyter,'" which hardly tallies with a previous remarkable statement [p. 13] that

Irenæus plainly falls into the mistake of regarding the Ephesian Elders who met the Apostle Paul at Miletus as 'the Bishops and Presbyters which were of Ephesus and of other towns in the neighborhood,' which demonstrates that he antedated the origin of the Episcopal system.

In short, Irenæus is so wedded to Episcopacy that he ignores the fact that in the New Testament "bishop" and "presbyter" are sometimes interchangeable terms; and yet he is charged with holding no essential distinction between Bishops and Presbyters! Bishop Lightfoot has a few words on this subject which are weighty and to the point; namely,—

A Bishop may be called *presbyteros*, but a Presbyter is not called conversely *episcopos*. In Irenæus, for instance, *presbyteros* has a very wide significance, being used of antiquity or of old age, as well as of office. In this wider sense the *presbyteroi*, the 'elders,' are the primitive Fathers (irrespective of office), whose views of Christian doctrine and practice are especially valuable by reason of their proximity to the Apostles. *On the other hand, he always employs 'episcopos' with precision of the Episcopal office alone* [Ap. Fath. I. 378, n.].

Again:—

The view of Irenæus respecting the subject before us is unmistakable. The Episcopate, as distinct from the Presbyterate, is the only Episcopate which comes within the range, not only of his personal acquaintance, but even of his intellectual and historical cognizance [*Ibid.* 378].

These words of that distinguished scholar, who is quoted more than once in the lecture, are even more significant when taken in connection with his judgment about Ignatius; namely,—

If the evidence of its extension (that is, of the Episcopate) in the regions east of the Ægean at this epoch [that is, A. D. 110] be resisted, I am at a loss to understand what single fact relating to the history of the Christian Church during the first half of the second century can be regarded as established; for the testimony in favor of this spread of the Episcopate is more abundant and more varied than for any other institution or event during this period so far as I recollect [*Ibid.* p. 377].

So much for the fact¹ of Episcopacy. Its full meaning and significance are arrived at not only by historical investigation, but by logical deduction. Some minds, like that of S. Cyprian, cannot allow facts to jostle one another, so to speak, in their memories without unifying and accounting for them in a coherent, philosophical system. Thus the Catholic Church for at least fifteen centuries, in spite of the contradiction of the Papacy [Counc. Trent, sess. 22], has held not only to the Episcopate as an historic fact, but to the Apostolical succession as the only intelligible and defensible philosophy of that series of sacraments and mysteries which CHRIST established, and His ministry has perpetuated. But on the lowest grounds, judged merely as a question of historical interest, thinking only of the truth and not of the consequences, can any man with all the evidence before him refuse to accept Bishop Lightfoot's very cautious and sifted statement, that *the form of the ministry has been handed down from Apostolic times, and may well be presumed to have a Divine sanction?* [Christian Ministry, p. 145.]

As for the doctrine of the Church of England on this subject at the time of the Reformation, the "argument from silence" is again strongly urged by the lecturer. Individual Churchmen, during those terrible years between 1559 and 1589, when the world was divided by the sword between Papalists and anti-Papalists, did refrain from denouncing the want of Episcopal organization among their fellow-reformers, thinking, as Bramhall says, that it was "charity to think well of our neighbors and good divinity to look well to ourselves" [vol. iii. *Serp. Salve*, p. 475]. It is true that Hooker, while maintaining that "the institution of Bishops was from heaven, was even of GOD, the HOLY GHOST was the author of it" [vi. 5, 10], did admit an ordination without Bishops in case a man was "raised up by GOD" and his "calling ratified by manifest signs and tokens from heaven," or in case there was an "exigence of necessity" where "the Church must needs have some ordained, and neither hath nor *can have possibly* a Bishop to ordain" [vii. 14,

¹ It has not been thought necessary here to discuss the opinions of S. Jerome [410 A. D.], although the lecture lays great stress upon them, because (1) Jerome is too late by at least three hundred years to give us any new evidence; (2) There is really nothing in his writings which materially affects the argument; (3) His views on the ministry have been discussed at great length by many writers, notably by Mr. Gore in his *Church and the Ministry* [pp. 137, 380].

11]. It may even be that there were isolated cases of men who officiated in the English Church in violation of the law, without having received Episcopal ordination, although the two instances mentioned by the Puritan Neale are instances of men who were tried and condemned for that very offence. Yet the fact remains that the law of the Church of England never wavered for an instant. The Preface to the Ordinal in the Book of Common Prayer, indorsed by the Articles, distinctly taught Episcopacy as a principle and a fact. It makes no difference whether Cranmer got his catechism from Justus Jonas or not. The language of that document was adopted as his language, and must be interpreted according to the laws of language. It was published moreover just at the time that the Preface to the Ordinal was written, and therefore explains it. Cranmer's words (*Sermon on Keys*), are as follows; namely,—

After CHRIST's ascension the Apostles gave authority to other godly and holy men to minister GOD's Word, and chiefly in those places where there were Christian men already, which lacked preachers, and the Apostles themselves could no longer abide with them. For the Apostles did walk abroad into divers parts of the world, and did study to plant the Gospel in many places. Wherefore when they found godly men and meet to preach GOD's Word, they laid their hands upon them and gave them the HOLY GHOST, as they themselves received of CHRIST the same HOLY GHOST, to execute this office. And they that were so ordained, were indeed, and also were called, the ministers of GOD, as the Apostles themselves were. And so the ministration of GOD's Word (which our LORD JESUS CHRIST Himself did first institute) was derived from the Apostles unto others after them, by imposition of hands and giving of the HOLY GHOST from the Apostles' time to our days. And this was the consecration, orders, and unction of the Apostles, whereby they at the beginning made Bishops and Priests; and this shall continue in the Church, even to the world's end. And whatsoever rite or ceremony hath been added more than this, cometh of man's ordinance and policy, and is not commanded by GOD's Word.

It would indeed be a triumph of genius to show that when Cranmer used those words he rejected the Apostolical succession and held to the equal right of all Christians to administer the Sacraments and preach the Word in the congregation. More might be said about the almost unanimous recognition on the part of the Continental Reformers (for example, Melancthon, Bucer, Beza, Calvin, — the Augsburg Confession itself) of the

historic fact of Episcopacy. In reply to the statement that "Apostolical succession" means Romanism [p. 30], attention might be drawn to the fact urged by Burnet, Pearson, Bramhall, and others, that the Papal theory has ever been against the doctrine of the "Divine right of Bishops;" that the Council of Trent for that reason refused to state the doctrine; and that it was not until Popery had dethroned Episcopacy that Protestantism took courage to dethrone it also. For, as Burnet says [Ref. I. 347], the theory of parity of Orders is "the very dregs of Popery."

But enough has been said to vindicate at least the very moderate proposal of the Bishops in their plea for unity, and to show that the Historic Episcopate as a principle of Church government is the very least that could be insisted upon consistently with a belief in a supernatural revelation illustrated by the evidence of antiquity and the history of the Christian Church.

THOMAS F. GAILOR.

The Voice of the Church of England on Episcopal Ordination.

REV. ARTHUR LOWNDES.

THIS article is written in answer to the request of the Editor of the CHURCH REVIEW that I should state what view the Church of England has held on the Historic Episcopate during the period covered by the years 1534 to 1589, and that this paper should be as far as possible an abstract of the various articles on *The Voice of the Church of England* contained in the CHURCH REVIEW since April, 1887. Those two dates, 1534 and 1589, have been chosen for the reason that before the abolition of the Papal supremacy in England in 1534, and the preaching of Bancroft's sermon in 1589, no one has called in question the teaching of the Church of England on the matter at issue.

It is admitted that before 1534 the validity of the Sacraments was connected with the Episcopal succession, and that the exclusive validity of Episcopal ordination was the sole view taught and tolerated in the Church of England.

But it is claimed that this view concerning ordination and the Sacraments was rejected by the Church at the Reformation, and that the very first time it was broached again in England was on the occasion of Bancroft's sermon at S. Paul's Cross on Feb. 9, 1589.

The task before us is then to show what the Church officially taught and enjoined during the years 1534 and 1589.

We have too much regard for the sincerity of purpose of the prominent Protestant ministers who discussed from their standpoint the Lambeth Proposals in the CHURCH REVIEW for April last to bring into the discussion the personal views and predilections of individual Churchmen, no matter how eminent. It would be but waste of time, and not advance the question one whit. The retort would be, "These views are no doubt interesting and suggestive, but we want an official explanation of the Church herself as to what she meant by the Episcopate, — in

other words, what was the 'Historic Episcopate' during the years 1534 and 1589 in England."

We thoroughly agree with one of the writers, who says it lies with the Anglican Bishops to show what they mean by the term "Historic Episcopate." It is not for persons to whom a proposal is made to define its terms, but for the makers of the proposal. It is for the Anglican Bishops only to define what they meant by that very vague term; still by an appeal to any portion of history we may be able to find out the voice of the Church during that period. And if we find that the Church during those very critical years of her history that have been selected held a certain definite and pronounced view on the matter, then the Church of the present day will be obliged, if she wishes not to break her "historic" continuity, to uphold that same view.

At the outset it will be well to reproduce here two passages from the contributions to the April CHURCH REVIEW, one by a Methodist, the other by a Presbyterian minister, as showing the importance logical thinkers outside the Church attach to the period under review.

If we mistake not, there were a hundred years during which, in the language of an eminent clergyman of that Communion, 'no one in the Church of England thought of calling in question the validity of the Orders and Sacraments of the Reformed Churches,' which was presbyterian in ordination and government, and from which ministers and members were received to immediate and equal standing in the Church of England [*William V. Kelley*, p. 110].

It is only since the days of Charles I. and his Prime Minister Laud, that the Episcopal denomination has refused to recognize the validity of other ordinations besides its own [*Henry J. Van Dyke*, p. 122].

We reserve our comments on these two extracts till we have seen what history has to tell us on the subject.

Let us precise some dates for further reference: —

Papal supremacy abolished in England in 1534.

Accession of Edward VI., Jan. 28,¹ 1547.

Accession of Mary, July 6, 1553.

Accession of Elizabeth, Nov. 17, 1558.

Bancroft's sermon, Feb. 9, 1589.

If reference is made to the King's Articles of 1535, to the *Declaration of the Functions and Divine Institution of Bishops*

¹ Some tables give the 29. At any rate he was proclaimed on the 31.

and Priests of 1537, embodied in the *Institution of a Christian Man*, to the *De Ordine et Ministerio Sacerdotum et Episcoporum* of 1538, to the *Necessary Doctrines and Erudition for a Christian Man* of 1543, or to other such public documents asserting the ministerial powers of dispensing the Sacraments, of conveying absolution, of binding and loosing,—in one word, the whole Sacramental system,—the answer will be that the Reformed Church had not yet had time to clear herself from the defilement of Popery in the Eighth Henry's reign.

With only one reference to the reign of Edward VI., for fear of a like charge, we will pass on to the reign of Elizabeth,—Cranmer's *Catechism*, 1548, compiled by Justus Jonas, but deliberately adopted and translated by the Archbishop, and constantly referred to by him as his own.

And so the ministration of GOD'S word, which our LORD JESUS CHRIST did first institute, was derived from the Apostles unto others after them by imposition of hands, and giving the HOLY GHOST, from the Apostles' time to our days. And this was the consecration, Orders, and Unction of the Apostles, whereby they at the beginning made Bishops and Priests, and this shall continue in the Church even to the world's end, . . . wherefore, good children, you shall give due reverence and honor to the ministers of the Church . . . you shall take them for GOD'S ministers, and the messengers of our LORD JESUS CHRIST. For CHRIST himself saith in the Gospel, he that heareth you heareth Me, and he that despiseth you, despiseth Me. Wherefore, good children, you shall steadfastly believe all those things which such ministers shall speak to you from the mouth, and by the Commandment of our LORD JESUS CHRIST. And whatsoever they do to you, as when they baptise you, when they give you absolution, and distribute to you the Body and Blood of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, these you shall so esteem, as if CHRIST himself, in His own Person, did speak and minister unto you. For CHRIST hath commanded His ministers to do this unto you, and He Himself (although you see Him not with your bodily eyes) is present with His ministers, and worketh by the HOLY GHOST in the administration of His Sacraments. And on the other side, you shall take good heed, and beware of false and privy preachers, which privily creep into cities, and preach in corners, having none authority, nor being called to this office. For CHRIST is not present with such preachers, and therefore doth not the HOLY GHOST work by their preaching, but their word is without fruit or profit, and they do great hurt in commonwealths. For such as be not called of GOD, they no doubt of it, do err, and sow abroad heresy and naughty doctrine [*Sermon on the Keys* in Cranmer's *Catechism*, pp. 193 seq. Oxford, 1829].

What an outcry there would be nowadays of want of charity, exclusiveness, and unchurching other Churches, if the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Presiding Bishop were to put forth such a manual with such plain teaching on the Apostolical succession and the validity of the Sacraments and Absolution in connection therewith!

What a commentary on the English Ordinal by the very man who, it is said, wrote the Preface as it stood in the year 1588!

And even if Cranmer did not himself compose the Preface, he was the head of the commission which gave us the Ordinal of 1550.

In 1552 the Ordinal was revised, and several ceremonies and practices were omitted in the vain hope of conciliating the extreme wing; but no material alteration was made in the wording of the service, and no change made in the Preface.

It cannot, therefore, even be said that Cranmer had not the chance given him of qualifying the Ordinal or its Preface.

We come now to Elizabeth's reign, which commenced on Nov. 17, 1558.

In Elizabeth's reign we will take the different links of our chain of historical facts in their chronological order.

I. THE CONFERENCE IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

The lower House of Convocation had passed a resolution which they requested the Bishops to present to Parliament, in favor of the maintenance of the unreformed system, which had not yet been legally set aside. The Bishops were therefore the Marian Bishops. In answer to this petition, a conference was ordered to be held between the Romanists and the clergy of the Church as reformed under Edward VI. There were five articles brought forward in the petition, — the first three concerning Transubstantiation, the fourth the Papal Supremacy, the fifth the inherent authority of the clergy to settle matters of Faith, Sacraments, and discipline apart from the laity.

The Conference opened on March 31, 1559. Into the details of it we need not enter. The discussion on the mystery of the Holy Communion does not concern us at present. Under the fourth head, the Papal Supremacy, the paper which Dr. Horne read in the name of his party, and which, therefore, is the official declaration of the Reformed clergy, the following proposition is laid down as self-evident: —

Father: the Apostles' Authority is derived upon after ages, and conveyed to the bishops, their successors. This must be granted by the Roman Catholics; with what color else can they press obedience to the Pope's decrees? And S. Jerome is full for the point. And S. Cyprian makes no scruple to affirm that the Apostles were all equal to S. Peter by their commission. From whence it follows that all bishops have the same authority for ordering things to edification [Collier, vol. ii. p. 418].

The argument then goes on with the authority of each national Church to deal with matters of rites and ceremonies. The Conference broke up, owing to the refusal of the Romanists to continue the discussion on the lines agreed upon.

The above proposition covers the whole ground of the position of the Church of England on the Apostolic succession.

The Episcopal authority is not to be swallowed up by one Bishop, as the Romanists would have it; nor is it to be so disparaged as to belong to all Orders of the clergy, as the Precians, Puritans, Presbyterians, from that day to this would assert.

The clergy selected to represent the Reformed Church of England were Richard Cox (afterward Bishop of Ely), Robert Horne (afterward Bishop of Winchester), Edward Grindal (successively Bishop of London and Archbishop of York and Canterbury), Edmund Guest (successively Bishop of Rochester and Salisbury), John Aylmer (afterward Bishop of London), John Jewel (afterward Bishop of Salisbury), a Mr. Whitehead,¹ and John Scorey, Bishop of Chichester under Edward VI., and afterward Bishop of Hereford.

These were the men who were chosen to represent the doctrines of the Reformed Church, and who chose Horne to read out on their behalf the paper from which we have quoted. Here, then, we have the doctrine of Apostolical succession laid down as one taken for granted at the very outset of Elizabeth's reign, and before the Act of Uniformity was passed.

"The Apostles' authority is derived upon after ages, and conveyed to the Bishops, their successors."

II. ACT OF UNIFORMITY.

Elizabeth's first Parliament met for business on Jan. 25, 1559, and passed, on April 28, the Act of Uniformity, which

¹ The writer is unable with the means at his command to trace what preferment Mr. Whitehead obtained, if any.

ordered the Prayer-Book (suppressed, of course, in Mary's reign) to be again taken into regular use "from and after the feast of the Nativity of Saint John Baptist" (June 24).

The Act of Uniformity was bound up with the Prayer-Book, not as a supplement, but as part of it, as can be seen by the table of contents: —

" The Contents of this book.

" 1. An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer.

" 2. A Preface."

And so on to 21, which is the Communion Service.

III. THE ELEVEN ARTICLES OF 1559.

These Articles, which, according to their heading, were to be read out by all the clergy "at first entry into their cures, and also after that yearly, at two several times," are entitled: —

A Declaration of certain principal Articles of Religion set out by the order of both the Archbishops Metropolitans, and the rest of the Bishops; for the Unity of Doctrines to be *taught* and *held* of all Parsons, Vicars, and Curates, as well as in testimony of their common consent in the said doctrine, etc.

Of these the fourth and seventh are the only ones that concern us.

IV. Moreover I confess that it is not lawful for any man to take upon him any office or ministry either ecclesiastical or secular, but such only as are *lawfully thereunto called* by their high authorities, according to the *Ordinances of this realm*.

VII. Furthermore, I do grant and confess that the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Holy Sacraments, set forth by authority of Parliament, is agreeable to the Scriptures, and that it is Catholic, Apostolic, and meet for the advancing of God's glory, etc.

Taking, then, the Act of Uniformity enjoining the Book of Common Prayer and the Eleven Articles set forth by the Bishops together, what do we find the voice of the Church to be in 1559?

That every clergyman had, on entry to his cure, and twice a year thereafter, to declare openly his belief in the Scriptural, Catholic, and Apostolic character of the Prayer-Book, and Administration of the Sacraments, and further, that *only those who*

were lawfully called according to the *Ordinances of the realm* could take upon themselves any ecclesiastical ministry.

If the seventh Article was aimed at the Romanists, the fourth was directed against the Puritans; yet both together proclaimed that the Church of England was Catholic and Apostolic, and admitted none within her ministry but those who were lawfully called thereunto.

The questions then arise, What was set forth by authority of Parliament? What were "the *Ordinances of the realm*" by which a man could know if he were lawfully called to office or ministry?

The "authority of Parliament" was the Act of Uniformity which made Elizabeth's Prayer-Book of 1559 a legal ordinance. If a man wanted to ascertain the law as to who were at that time the legal ministers in England, he would have to turn to the *Ordinal*, which bore on its titlepage these words: —

"The fourme and maner of making and consecracyng bish-
ops, priestes and deacons Anno Domini 1559" [*Liturgical Services*. Queen Elizabeth. Parker Society, 1847, p. 272 *et seq.*], and the Preface, differing slightly from that of the present *Ordinal*; both Prefaces are given side by side.

The Preface of 1559: —

It is evident unto all men, diligently reading holy Scripture, and ancient authors, *that from the Apostles' time there hath been these Orders of Ministers in CHRIST's Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons: which Offices were evermore had in such reverent estimation, that no man, by his own private authority, might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as were requisite for the same.* And also, by public prayer, with imposition of hands, approved and admitted thereunto.

And therefore, to the intent these orders should be continued and reverently used and esteemed in this Church of England: it is requisite *that no man (not being at this present Bishop, Priest, nor Deacon) shall execute any of them, except he be called, tried, and examined, and admitted according to the form hereafter following.* And none shall be admitted a deacon except he be xxi years of age at least. And every man which is to be admitted a Priest shall be full xxiv years old. And every man which is to be consecrated a Bishop shall be full thirty years old. And the Bishop, knowing either by himself, or by sufficient testimony, any person to be a man of virtuous conversation and without crime, and after examination and trial, finding him learned in the Latin tongue, and sufficiently instructed in Holy Scripture, may upon a Sunday

or Holy Day, in the face of the Church, admit him a deacon, in such manner and form as hereafter followeth.

Present Preface as revised in 1662:—

It is evident unto all men diligently reading the holy Scripture and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church; Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. Which offices were evermore had in such reverend Estimation, that no man might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as are requisite for the same; and also by publick Prayer, with Imposition of Hands, were approved and admitted thereunto by lawful Authority. And therefore, to the intent that these Orders may be continued, and reverently used and esteemed, in the United Church of England and Ireland; no man shall be accounted or taken to be a lawful Bishop, Priest, or Deacon in the United Church of England and Ireland, or suffered to execute any of the said Functions, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted thereunto, according to the Form hereafter following, or hath had formerly Episcopal Consecration, or Ordination.

And none shall be admitted a Deacon, except he be Twenty-three years of age, unless he have a Faculty. And every man which is to be admitted a Priest shall be full Four-and-twenty years old. And every man which is to be ordained or consecrated Bishop shall be fully Thirty years of age.

And the Bishop, knowing either by himself, or by sufficient testimony, any Person to be a man of virtuous conversation, and without crime; and, after examination and trial, finding him learned in the Latin Tongue, and sufficiently instructed in holy Scripture, may at the times appointed in the Canon, or else, on urgent occasion, upon some other Sunday or Holy-day, in the face of the Church, admit him a Deacon, in such manner and form as hereafter followeth.

The last words of the Preface of 1662, “or hath had formerly Episcopal Consecration, or Ordination,” were added because the words in parentheses of that of 1559 were omitted (“not being at this present Bishop, Priest, nor Deacon”). “At this present” applied exactly to the circumstances of the present time in 1559, when most of the clergy had been ordained under the Sarum, or other Ordinals; but in 1662 “at this present” would strike every one as incongruous and absurd. There could be then living no man who had been ordained under the ancient Ordinals. Whichever Preface is taken, there is no loophole for a non-Episcopally ordained man to creep into the sacred min-

istry. He must either have been a Bishop, Priest, or Deacon according to the unreformed Ordinals or the Edwardian; else he must be admitted "according to the form hereafter following," to satisfy the Preface of 1559.

He must be admitted "according to the form hereafter following," if he has not already received Episcopal ordination to fulfil the requirements of the Preface of 1662.

What was "the form hereafter following" in 1559?

For a Deacon, after the candidate has declared that he believes that he has been inwardly called to enter the sacred ministry, and has been outwardly called according to the will of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, and the due order of this realm, to the ministry of the Church, the Bishop lays his hand upon him, saying,—

"Take thou authority to execute the office of a Deacon," and thus the Deacon receives his mission.

For the Priesthood, the question as to the inward call is omitted, the candidate having already entered the sacred ministry; but the question is asked as to whether the candidate believes himself to have received the outward call,—

"According to the will of our LORD JESUS CHRIST and the Order of this Church of England to the ministry of Priesthood?"

The terms of the question for the Diaconate are general, but for the Priesthood they become precise.

The Bishop and the Priests present lay their hands on the candidate, the Bishop saying,—

"*Receive the Holy Ghost*: Whose sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven: and whose sins thou dost retain they are retained."¹

"Take thou authority to preach the word of GOD," etc.

Here, then, first his spiritual power is given him in the self-same words the Apostles received theirs from CHRIST; and secondly, his mission.

In the office for the consecration of a Bishop, the rubric, following the primitive Canons, insists on the presence of two Bishops besides the officiating Bishop. This shows the anxiety of the Reformers to guard against any possible break in the

¹ The reader will notice the difference in this form from that in the present Prayer-Book, which is word for word the same as the first form in the American Prayer-Book. It is doubtful if the older form is not the stronger.

continuation of the Apostolical succession. The consecration of a Bishop by only one Bishop might be valid, but is uncanonical, since the primitive Church had, in order to be sure of the succession, laid down the rule, and constantly reaffirmed it, that, —

“ Let a Bishop be ordained by two or three Bishops.”

“ Let a Priest or Deacon and the other clergy¹ be ordained by one Bishop.” — *Canons 1 and 2 of the Apostolical Canons.*²

The reformers enjoined the presence of three Bishops at least at every consecration, while one was sufficient for the ordaining of a Priest or Deacon.

Could a Church have done more to insure the Apostolical succession? Yet we are told the Church of England is indifferent on the subject.

Again, in the address to him that is to be consecrated Bishop the Archbishop is to say, —

“ Brother, forasmuch as Holy Scripture, and the old canons, commandeth that we should not be hasty in laying on hands and admitting of any person to the government of the congregation of CHRIST,” etc.

And at the consecration, —

“ Take the HOLY GHOST and remember thou stir up the grace of GOD which is in thee by imposition of hands,” etc.

In the Confirmation service the Bishop claims to be the successor of the Apostles in their Apostolic functions: —

“ Upon whom (after the example of thy Holy Apostles) we have laid our hands,” etc.

Throughout the most solemn parts of her service, wherever any Sacramental grace is to be given, the Church directs, beyond the possibility of any person quibbling as to the generic term “ minister,” that a Priest or Bishop shall perform the

¹ That is, the minor clergy, including readers, sub-deacons, etc.

² The Apostolical Canons belong to no later date than the end of the second or the very commencement of the third century.

Canon 4 of the Council of Nice, A. D. 325, rules, —

“ A Bishop ought to be constituted by all the Bishops of the Province, and should this be impracticable on account of urgent necessity, or because of distance, three at least should meet together,” etc.

And so Canon 19 of Antioch, A. D. 341, — a Bishop not to be obtained without a Synod and the presence of the Metropolitan of the Province.

The African code, A. D. 418, collected out of sixteen councils at Carthage, etc., rules in Canon 13, “ Three Bishops may consecrate another Bishop with leave of the Primate.”

act, as in Holy Communion, in the Visitation of the Sick, and Confirmation.

And wherever she refers to her Orders, she ever refers to them as a *Divine institution*.

Almighty God, which by the¹ *Divine providence* hadst appointed diverse orders of ministers in the Church; and didst inspire thine Holy Apostles to choose unto this order of Deacons the first martyr S. Stephen, with others: mercifully behold these thy servants now called to the like office and administration, etc.

In the prayer for Priests the language is, as we should expect, still stronger.

Almighty God, giver of all good things, which by thy *Holy Spirit* hast appointed diverse orders of Ministers in thy Church, mercifully behold these thy servants, now called to the office of Priesthood, etc.

In the exhortation following, the Church institutes a direct comparison between her Priests and the Apostles. One of the Gospels appointed to be read is chapter xx. of S. John, ending with the words of our LORD, "And (He) said unto them: Receive ye the HOLY GHOST. Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whose soever sins ye retain they are retained."

In the prayer before the imposition of hands, the Bishop prays for the candidates: "Thou hast vouchsafed to call these thy servants here present to the same office and ministry" as thy "Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists," etc. Then follow the words of imposition, when the Bishop, standing in the place of CHRIST,² repeats the selfsame words as the Head of the Church,—

"Receive the HOLY GHOST: whose sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain they are retained."

And when under that Commission the Priest absolves individual penitents, the Church provides the form,—

Our LORD JESUS CHRIST, who hath left power to his Church to absolve all sinners which truly repent and believe in Him; of his great mercy

¹ Misprint for "thy." All these quotations are taken from the Elizabethan Prayer-Book, as given in *Liturgies and Occasional Forms of Prayer set forth in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*. Parker Society, 1847.

² "Those that fill the room of CHRIST" is the term applied to the Bishops in the Homilies.

forgive thee thine offences: and by his authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

Well has it been said:—

Orders, then, in the view of the Church of England, are (historically) an Apostolical Ordinance, but one both in itself necessary to the Church, and in its origin a direct appointment of CHRIST Himself by His Holy Spirit, with no less an end than the salvation of men's souls, and with no less a power than that of administering Sacraments and conveying instrumentally God's gift of the forgiveness of sins, and those orders, of course, are asserted to be so, and none others, that are set forth in the Ordinal itself, viz., Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, with their several powers as thus distinguished and declared—powers certainly in their own nature such as none but Almighty God can give, and which, therefore, only the authority of Almighty GOD can ever excuse, much less sanction, men in claiming to bestow. Beyond all power of gloss, our services are either rank and fearful blasphemy, or they rest upon the doctrine here laid down.¹

To this we can only say a solemn Amen.

The Church recognized in 1559 (and recognizes now) as her ministers only those who had Episcopal ordination, and were willing to conform to the doctrines as embodied in the Prayer-Book, or those who were ordained by Bishops according to the form she set forth, and emphatically declares "that no man being at this present [1559] Bishop, Priest, nor Deacon" shall execute any ministerial office.

The State by the Act of Uniformity of 1559 imposes this law of the Church as the law of the realm, therefore when the "Ordinances of the realm" are invoked in behalf of the Eleven Articles which the Church, through her Archbishops and Bishops, demands all her ministers to assent to, the Church invokes her own ordinances.

If a man appealed to the ordinances of the realm, the appeal lay to the Ordinal.

If a man appealed to the ordinances of the Church, the appeal lay likewise to the Ordinal.

There was thus a twofold encircling of the law.

¹ Haddan's *Apostolical Succession in the Church of England*. Rivingtons, 1869, p. 143.

IV. A PURITAN VOICE.

It may, however, be said that to take the words of the Prayer-Book, the Ordinal, or its Preface, "in such just and favorable construction as in common equity ought to be allowed to all human writings" [present Preface to the Book of Common Prayer], and to state that the "Priest" of the Prayer-Book means only the legal Priest,—that is, the one ordained according to the Ordinal (or according to the Roman Ordinal and willing to conform),—is to take a view only taken by those having "the Church idea." It may, therefore, not be out of place to quote from a rare and curious publication entitled,—

"Certayne Considerations drawne from the Canons of the last Sinod, and other the Kings Ecclesiastical and Statute law," etc., published, as such productions mostly were, without the name of author or printer, in 1605.

Under the section devoted to "Considerations against subscription to the booke of the forme and manner of making and consecrating Bishops, Priests, and Deacons," the writer argues against subscription¹ to the Prayer-Book being compulsory on all the clergy, and endeavors to arouse the King's jealousy as to his supremacy, and so accordingly [on pages 48, 49] proceeds,—

So that by subscription to allow that provinciall and Diocesan Bishops be Scripturely Bishops, and that their jurisdiction and power is a Scripturely jurisdiction and power, is to deny that their jurisdiction and power dependeth upon the King's jurisdiction and power, or that by the King's gift and authoritie they be made Bishops.

But how doeth subscription (you will say) to the booke of Ordination approve the orders and degrees of provinciall and diocesan Bishops to be by Divine right rather than by humane ordinance? How? Why thus: It is evident (saith the preface of that booke) to all men diligently reading holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' times, there have been these orders of ministers in CHRIST's Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. Yea, and by the whole order of prayer and of scripture read, and used in the forme of consecrating of an Archbishop or Bishop, it is apparent that the order of an Archbishop or Bishop, consecrated by that booke, is reputed and taken to be of Divine institution. And therefore seeing the names of those orders of ministers must necessarily be taken and understood of such orders of ministers as be

¹ When we come to examine the Articles later on, it will be seen that the terms of subscription do not affect the present argument.

sett forth and described in the body of that booke, it must needes be intended, that the ministers by their subscription should approve the orders of ministers mencioned in that booke, to be of Divine institution, and consequently that provinciall and diocesan ministers or Bishops, have not their essence and being from the nomination, gift and authoritie of the King.¹

Besides if we should understand by the word (Bishop) him that hath the ministrie of the word and Sacraments, as the pastor and teacher; and by the word (Priest) the Presbyter, that is, the governing elder; and by the word (Deacon) the provider for the poore, then for the ministers to subscribe to the booke of Ordination would no way justifie those offices, or degrees of ministers which are described in that booke, but would indeed utterly subvert and overthrow them.

Because the orders and degrees of a provinciall, and diocesan Bishop, of a Priest and Deacon, mentioned in that booke, be of a farr differing nature from those orders, and degrees of ministers which are mentioned in the Scriptures, because they only agree in name, and not in nature.

Quite so. Is the voice of the Church so very uncertain? Our friend Master Anon., and his co-peers, Precisian, Puritan, or Presbyterian, think it only too certain, and groan that the Preface is not open to a double interpretation. The Divine right of Episcopacy was no "open question," as far as the Church of England was concerned, in the eyes of these men.

Not believing in the Divine institution of Episcopacy, and recognizing that wherever, in the Book of Common Prayer, the Orders of the ministry are referred to, only those Orders of ministry are allowed by the Church that are ordained according to her Ordinal, Anonymous and his friends say: "We cannot subscribe to such a book. We believe in Orders, — yea, but Orders not of Divine institution; and while, if you like, we will retain the names of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, those names must not represent the Orders, having the nature of the Orders mentioned in the Book of Ordination of the Church of England, but must represent Pastors, Elders, and Providers for the poor."

The Puritan testimony has been introduced at this point because, although not published in the period under review at

¹ What the King thought of this Erastian appeal, we have already seen in his address to Spotswood, Hamilton, and Lamb, on the eve of their consecration as Bishops for Scotland, where he said he never would presume on such authority, and "that such authority belonged to none but our Blessed SAVIOUR and those commissioned by Him."

present, it yet voices the reasons for the continual fight against subscription to the Prayer-Book and Ordinal.

Without staying any further to reflect on these "considerations," though they are wonderfully suggestive, we pass on to the next link in the historical chain of evidence as to what the realm and the Church considered lawful ministers before the year 1588.

V. VISITATION ARTICLES.

The Act of Uniformity of 1559 was, as we have seen, not only statute law, but ecclesiastical law, being part of the Book of Common Prayer. One of its provisions is as follows: —

Provided always, and be it ordained and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and singular Archbishops and Bishops, and every of their Chancellors, Commissaries, Archdeacons, and other Ordinaries having any peculiar ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall have full power and authority, by virtue of this act, as well to inquire in their visitation, Synods, and elsewhere within their jurisdiction, or any other time and place, to take accusation and information of all and every the things above mentioned, done, committed, or perpetrated within the limits of their jurisdictions and authority, and to punish the same by admonition, excommunication, sequestration, or deprivation and other censures and processes in like form as heretofore hath been used in like cases by the Queen's ecclesiastical laws.

We must also remember that a Bishop's visitation is a *lawful court*, and clerks not appearing are liable to punishments and costs [Phillimore's *Ecclesiastical Law*, p. 1346].

Let us now see what were the interrogatories addressed at sundry visitations.

I. *Interrogatories in the injunctions of Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, 1561.*

17. Whether there be any laye or temporall men not being within orders, or children that hath or enjoyeth any benefice or spiritual promotion.

II. *Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1563.*

6. Item. Whether there be any Parsons that intrude themselves and presume to exercise any kind of ministry in the Church of God without imposition of hands and Ordinary ¹ authority.

¹ That is, authority of the Ordinary, the Bishop of the Diocese.

III. Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, 1569.

16. Item. Whether ye know any parson or vicar that sel their benefice to meare laymen.

IV. Cox, Bishop of Ely (about 1570-1574).

Item. Whether there be any Parsons that intrude themselves and presume to exercise any kinde of ministrie in the Churche of God without imposition of hands and ordinarie authoritie [see note on p. 139].

V. Grindal, Archbishop of York, 1571.

36. Whether there be any lay or temporall man not being within orders or any childe that hath or enjoyeth any benefice or spirituall promotion.

VI. Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1575.

Whether any person or persons not being ordered at least for a Deacon, or licensed by the ordinary do say Common Prayer openly in your Church or Chapel.

Whether any Priest or Minister be come into this Diocese out of any other Diocese to serve any cure here without letters testimonial of the ordinary from whence he came, under his authentic seal and hand to testify the cause of his departing from thence, and of his behaviour there.

VII. Aylmer, Bishop of London, 1577.

10. Whether any person, or persons, not being ordered at least for a Deacon, or licenced by the ordinarie, doe say Common-Prayer openly in your Church or chappell, or any not being at the least a Deacon doe solemnise matrimony or administer the Sacraments of Baptisme, or deliuer vnto the communicants the Lordes cuppe at the celebration of the Holy Communion, and what he or they be that doe so.

55. Whether any new presbiteries¹ or elderships be lately among you erected, and by them any ministers appointed with² [sic] orders taking of the Byshop doe baptise, minister the communion, or deall in any function ecclesiastical, or gather any priuate conuenticles whereby the people be drawn from the Church.

VIII. Sandys, Archbishop of York, 1578.

4. Whether any Person, or persons, not being ordered at the least for a Deacon, lycensed by the Ordinary, do saye Common-Prayer openly in your Church or Chappell, or any not being at least a Deacon, do sol-

¹ We shall see farther on that such a "presbiterie" had been established about five years previously at Wandsworth.

² Evident misprint for "without."

emnise matrimonie or administer the Sacrament of Baptisme or deliuer vnto the communicants the Lord's cup at the celebration of the Holy Communion, and what he or they be that do so.

IX. *Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1588.*

Whether doth any take on them to read lectures or preach, being mere lay persons, or not ordered according to the laws of this realm.

X. *Alymer, Bishop of London, 1586.*

4. Whether any Parson or Parsons not being ordered at the least for a Deacon do saye Common Prayer openly in your Church Chappell, or any not being at the least a Deacon do solemnise matrimony, or administer the Sacramentes of Baptisme, or deliuer to the Communicantes the Lord's cup at the celebration of the holye communion, and what be their names that do so.¹

Here, then, we have a series of Visitation Articles, commencing within two years of the passing of the Act of Uniformity and the restoration of the Prayer-Book, and down to two years before the date of 1588, when we are told that the doctrine of the exclusive claim of Episcopacy as a Church government and its connection with the validity of the Sacraments *was first publicly set forth or first broached!*

There were two classes of intruders that the Church had to guard against,—the men non-Episcopally ordained and minors holding the temporalities of the Church. It is a matter unfortunately too notorious that in the Roman Communion children had been preferred to benefices, and also to dignities in the Church. Pope Leo was abbot of two monasteries at the age of seven, and at thirteen was a Cardinal. Another Pope, that of Geneva, Calvin, though a layman, possessed two places of preferment in France. He afterward sold one of them.

Against such abuses was the question aimed, “Whether there be any childe that hath or enjoyeth any benefice.”

This class of abuses may be said to belong to the old order of things, while that of men not lawfully ordained belonged to the new order.

¹ All these Visitation interrogatories are taken from the *Second Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Rubrics, Orders, and Directories for regulating the Course and Conduct of Public Worship, etc., according to the Use of the United Church of England and Ireland, etc., 1868*, with the exception of Grindal's, for 1575, and Whitgift's, for 1585, which are taken from Cardwell's *Doc. Ann.*, vol. i. p. 404-407; vol. ii. p. 4.

It would not, therefore, have been surprising had there been no interrogatories aimed against this new class of intruders. Silence would, however, have given no sanction. Does the Church recognize the Methodist Episcopal "Bishops" because she nowhere condemns them by name?

That some of the Bishops from 1559 to 1588 may not have been very desirous of enforcing the law of the Church and realm, and that they would have preferred to connive at the intrusion of men not ordained according to those laws, may be perfectly true, but even if such could be proved¹ beyond the shadow of a doubt, such proof would not affect the law of the Church. A judge may wink or connive at an offence; but that would not make the offence the less an offence. Nay, more, when called upon to act against the offender, the judge, no matter how he may dislike the law, has to pass sentence according to the law of the land.

In some States there are laws against the selling of liquors. Such laws are notoriously broken; and if rumor speaks correctly, with the knowledge of the magistrates. Yet the moment the law is set in motion, a judge, although he had himself been buying liquor from the offender, would have to pass on him the sentence provided by the law. Nor is non-user a repeal of a law. In the above Visitation Articles, however, we see clearly beyond the possibility of a cavil that there was a widespread desire to enforce the law. And it is curious to note the similarity of language employed; the Interrogatory of the Archbishop of York, of 1578, is almost word for word the same as that of the Bishop of London, of 1586. It would really seem as if the Bishops had concerted a united plan of defence against these new intruders.

The Roman Orders the Church acknowledged, and has always acknowledged as valid, and the law of the realm has also always done so, on the ground of their having the *Apostolical succession*, as we have seen Lord Brougham so decide [CHURCH REVIEW for April, 1887, p. 441].

The words in parentheses in the Preface to the Ordinal of 1559 ("not being at this present Bishop, Priest, nor Deacon") certainly left it open to a Roman clergyman to hold a cure legally without any further authority than the Ordinal gave him. In this there was a source of danger, for while the Church recognized the validity of his Orders, she did not desire a Roman Priest to

¹ No proof of such cases has yet been given.

minister at her altars without first having some guarantee that he would abide by her reformed standard of doctrine and worship.

To effect this an Act was passed in the thirteenth year of Elizabeth's reign. And now we come to the sixth link in our chain of historical facts,— the *Act 13 Eliz. c. 12*, and the *Articles*.

It would be impossible to understand the bearings of the provisions of the *Act 13 Eliz. c. 12* without a somewhat detailed review of the various Articles to which subscription was enforced prior to the date of 1588 or 1589, which limits our inquiries. The object before us is to prove what was the voice of the Church of England on Episcopal ordination prior to the delivery of Bancroft's sermon on Feb. 9, 1589. It is not our concern to show whether Presbyterianism be right or wrong, but simply to prove what the Church of England has said on the subject up to Feb. 9, 1589. It is not our concern either to show what the English Reformers, or individual members of the Church, thought on the subject, but plainly to prove that the Church of England, as a Church, never accepted as in any way valid the ministrations of one not ordained or consecrated by a Bishop.

In tracing the history of subscription to Articles back to their first origin, it is to Geneva and not to Rome that we find the clergy owe enforcement of subscription to Articles of Religion. The Puritan and Presbyterian party who so bitterly railed against subscription to the successive Articles have to thank that foreign prince and potentate, that "busy intermeddler in foreign Churches," that "infallible arbiter in controversy," John Calvin, for its introduction into England.

It was Calvin who, as Collier says of him, "thought himself wiser than the Ancient Church, and fit to dictate Religion to all countries in Christendom," who wrote to Protector Somerset in 1548 to inform him as to his will and pleasure concerning Church and State in England. After commanding the Protector for the zeal and resolution¹ he had shown in retrieving

¹ Doubtless referring to his "zeal and resolution" in endeavoring to pull down Westminster Abbey wherewith to build himself a palace; or to his unabated "zeal and resolution" in tearing down a stately cloister, two chapels, three Bishop's houses, and two Churches, for his palace, when bought off by the Dean with half the revenues of the Abbey.

religion, he unfolds his plan, which may be summed up as follows: —

1. A form of Common Prayer to be enforced on all subjects by the State.

2. Articles of Religion to which all Bishops and Parish Priests should be forced to subscribe, and that no person should be admitted to any ecclesiastical function without giving solemn consent to the doctrines received.

3. Both Papists and Gospellers¹ to be coerced by the sword. Here, then, is the germ of all subscription and test acts.

Hooper, Calvin's apt pupil, when he had so sufficiently overcome his scruples as to enable him to accept the See of Gloucester, followed his master's injunctions, set forth a series of Articles of his own, and took very kindly to enforcing them on his clergy.

Hardwick, in his Appendix III., has collated the XXXIX. Articles of 1562, with the preceding formularies, and also with these Articles issued by Hooper to his clergy.

We now come to the sixth head of our argument.

VI. THE ARTICLES.

The following table may help us to distinguish between these numerous formularies, and to understand their connection:

- I. The Articles of 1548.
- II. The XLV. Articles of 1551-52.
- III. The XLII. Articles of 1553.
- IV. The XI. Articles of 1559.
- V. The XXXIX. Articles assented to by Convocation, Jan. 31, 1562.
- VI. The Advertisements of 1564.
- VII. Canons passed by Convocation of April and May, 1571.
- VIII. Act of 13 Elizabeth, cap. 12, passed April or May, 1571.
- IX. Subscription to the XXXIX. Articles enforced by Parliament by said Act.
- X. Order of Ecclesiastical Commissioners, June 7, 1571.
- XI. Parker's Three Articles, June, 1571.

¹ That is, the Puritan party, who were then also nicknamed "Pseudo-evangelicals."

- XII. Queen's Proclamation, Oct. 20, 1573.
- XIII. The XV. Articles passed by Convocation in March, 1576.
- XIV. Whitgift's Three Articles, April 15, 1584.
- XV. The XXIV. Articles, May, 1584.

§ I. *The Articles of 1548.*

What these were, or how many they were, we cannot say. But that subscription was enforced to a set of Articles as early at least as the second year of the reign of Edward VI. is beyond doubt, and possibly in the very first year.

Hooper, under date of Feb. 27, 1549, writes, —

He (*i. e.* Archbishop Cranmer) has some Articles of Religion to which all preachers and lecturers in divinity are required to subscribe or else a licence for teaching is not granted them [Hardwick on the *Articles*, London, 1881, p. 72].

Archbishop Whitgift, writing to Burghley, July 15, 1584, says, —

But I have altered my first course of dealing with them for not subscribing only (justifiable by law, and in common practice in the time of King Edward, and from the beginning of her Majesty's reign to this day), and chosen this to satisfy your lordship [Whitgift's *Works*, Parker Society, 1853, vol. iii. p. 607].

Complaining of the rigorous way in which subscription had been enforced, a Marian Bishop, in a sermon Nov. 12, 1553, at S. Paul's Cross, indignantly asks: —

Hathe there been anye spiritual promotion and dignitie, ye or almoste anye meane liyng of the Churche, *bestowed these few years past*, but vpon such onely, as would ernestly set furth (either by preaching, *either by subscribing*) al the erronius doctrine, falsi termed the Kinges proceding? [Hardwick, p. 222, note.]

If, however, we are unable to give either the precise wording or the number of these Articles, we do know that three at least of them concerned the *Prayer-Book*, the *Ordinal*, and the *Sacraments*, because it was to these three that Hooper objected in May, 1550, when nominated to the See of Gloucester [Hardwick, p. 92].

The *Prayer-Book* and *Ordinal* being of course that of 1549, the First of Edward VI., Hooper could not have objected to

these Articles on account of their Puritanism, for he was the leading exponent of the Calvinistic school in England, and the determined foe of the *Ordinal* and *Prayer-Book*.

Here, then, at the very outset, we have a manifestation of the Puritan opposition to subscription to the Articles on account of the *Prayer-Book and Ordinal*. And we have also from the very beginning of the Reformation the determination of the Church that those seeking Orders within her fold should bind themselves to uphold her teaching as formulated in her *Prayer-Book*, and the form of Episcopal ordination as laid down in her *Ordinal*.

So Hooper, notwithstanding his objections, found himself obliged to subscribe to them in 1551 before he could be consecrated Bishop, which proves that there must have been authority for these Articles, else Hooper, anxious as he was to evade subscription to them, could have met the demand to subscribe by a point-blank refusal on the simple plea that they were unauthorized.

Hooper may be said to have been the first to throw down the gauntlet in the lists against the Church, on behalf of Puritanism, Presbyterianism, and the Parity-men, and summon her to open her gates wide to them.

From 1550 to the present day there have not been wanting men to re-echo that challenge.

But what has been the action of the Church in reply?

Has she altered her *Prayer-Book* or her *Ordinal*?

Has she relaxed her formularies of subscription to such a degree as to admit as her accredited ministers any non-Episcopally ordained?

Let the following brief survey of the successive series of Articles to those of 1548 answer these questions.

§ II. *The XLV. Articles of 1551-52.*

These XLV. Articles may be found in Latin, taken from the State papers *Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. xv. No. 28, signed by six royal chaplains, in Hardwick, p. 279 *seq.*

The Privy Council appear to have directed, in the year 1551, that they should be set forth by public authority. Some delay seems to have occurred in doing this; and consequently we find the Council writing, on May 2, 1552, to Archbishop Cranmer

about the delay, and requesting that a copy of the Articles be forwarded to the Council.

Having made some alterations and additions, the Archbishop forwards a copy of the Articles, in September, 1552, to the Council. Finally a copy is submitted to the King with the request that the Articles be enforced as a test.

Six royal chaplains are thereupon directed to report on the Articles, and these chaplains,— Harley, Bill, Horne, Perne, Grindal, and Knoks,— having signed a copy, in token of their assent, the Formulary is then sent, on November 20, to the Archbishop for the “last corrections of his judgment and pen.” Four days after, they are returned to the Council, accompanied by a request from Cranmer that all Bishops may have authority from the King “to cause all their preachers, archdeacons, deans, prebendaries, parsons, vicars, curates, with all their clergy, to subscribe to the said Articles.”

On June 19, 1553, in compliance with the Archbishop's wish, the royal order was issued that the new Formulary be publicly subscribed. The number of the Articles had, however, been reduced to forty-two since November, 1552.

As the XXXVIII. of these XLV. Articles is the parent of all “the subscription Articles” objected to by those who fought against Episcopal ordination, it is important to reproduce it here.

XXXVIII. *De libro Ceremoniarum Ecclesiae Anglicanae.* Liber qui nuperrime auctoritate Regis et Parlamenti ecclesiae Anglicanae traditus est, continens modum et formam orandi et sacramenta administrandi in Ecclesia Anglicana: similiter et libellus ille, eadem auctoritate aeditus, de ordinatione Ministrorum ecclesiae, quoad doctrinæ veritatem pii sunt, et quoad ceremoniarum rationem salutari Evangelii libertati, si ex sua natura ceremoniae illæ aestimantur, in nullo repugnant, sed probe congruant, et eandem in complurimis in primis promovent, atque ideo ab omnibus ecclesiae Anglicanae fidelibus membris, et maxime a ministris verbi, cum omni promptitudine animorum et gratiarum actione recipiendi, approbandi, et populo Dei sunt commendandi.

Now the English of the above is as follows (making use of, so far as it goes, the translation of the thirty-fifth of the XLII. Articles as set forth in 1553).

XXXVIII. *Of the Book of Ceremonies of the Church of England.* The Book which of very late time was given to the Church of England by the King's authority, and the Parliament, containing the manner and

form of praying and ministering the Sacraments in the Church of England, likewise also that book of ordering ministers of the Church, set forth by the foresaid authority, are godly with respect to the truth of their doctrine ; and with respect to the matter of ceremonies, if these ceremonies are estimated from their nature, are in no point repugnant to the wholesome doctrine of the Gospel, but are excellently agreeable thereunto, and further the same not a little ; and therefore by all the faithful members of the Church of England, and chiefly of ministers of the Word, they ought to be received and allowed with all readiness of mind and thanksgiving, and to be commended to the people of God.

It is quite true that these XLV. Articles do not appear to have been actually enforced ; but their existence proves that even thus early the most moderate of Churchmen were pressed to defend the Prayer-Book and Ordinal against the attacks of those who would have neither the Catholic doctrine nor the threefold ministry.

This attitude of the Reformers is well depicted in the words of Cranmer, as quoted by Hardwick, p. 68.

Lest any man should think that I feign anything of mine own head, without any other ground or authority, you shall hear by God's grace, as well the errors of the papist confuted as the Catholic truth defended both by God's sacred Word, and also by the most approved authors and martyrs of CHRIST's Church.

§ III. *The XLII. Articles of 1553.*

We have seen in the preceding section that the XLV. Articles, having been reduced by three, were by royal order of June 19, 1553, ordered to be publicly subscribed. The weight of authority is in favor of these Articles having been agreed to in Convocation prior to the issue of the King's order. The burning of the records of Convocation in the fire of 1666 makes proof in such things a matter of long and tedious research ; but the complaints of both Papists and Puritans prove that they were enforced. There is very little alteration between this Formulary and the XLV. Articles.

The thirty-eighth, which we have already given at length, becomes the thirty-fifth of the XLII. Articles ; and as both a Latin and English version was set forth, we will content ourselves with giving the English.

XXXV. Of the booke of Praiers, and Ceremonies of the Churche of Englande.

The Booke whiche of very late time was geuen to the Churche of England by the Kinges Auctoritie, and the Parlamente, conteining the maner and fourme of praiyng, and ministring the sacramentes in the Churche of Englande, likewise also the booke of ordring ministers of the Churche, set forth by the forsaid auctoritie, are godlie, and in no poincte repugnant to the holsome doctrine of the Gospel, but agreeable thereunto, ferthering and beautifying the same not a litle, and therefore of al faithful membres of the Churche of Englande, and chieflie of the ministers of the Worde, thei ought to be received and allowed with all readinesse of mind, and thankes geuing, and to bee commended to the people of God [Hardwick, p. 340].

If the opponents of the Church and Church government were dissatisfied with the thirty-eighth of the XLV. Articles, they would not have less reason for dissatisfaction when this thirty-fifth Article was set forth, for if anything it is stronger than the former one. Nor would such persons derive much comfort from the thirty-third and thirty-fourth, which are identical with the thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh of the XLV. Articles; the former, on the Traditions of the Church, censures those who of their *private judgment willingly and purposely break the traditions and ceremonies* of the Church; the latter, on the Homilies, declares them to be “godlie and holsome, conteining doctrine to be received of all menne.”

§ IV. *The Eleven Articles of 1559.*

When we were considering the Act of Uniformity (on p. 130 *et seq.*) we saw what these Articles enjoined. Since the XLV. and XLII. Articles, Cranmer had perished in the flames, and the authority of the Pope had had a brief sway. It would not have been strange to find that when fresh Articles were issued in Elizabeth's reign, they had been set forth with a view to greater strictness against the Papists and with more leniency to the Puritans.

Now, if ever, following the inevitable law of reaction, there ought to have been hopes for the minimizers of the Catholic Faith and levellers of the Apostolic ministry. It is instructive to find that the Church authorities preserved the same calm and judicious attitude which is such an eminent characteristic of the Church of England. The Articles of Edward VI. had not been repealed by any express statute in Mary's reign, but they had nevertheless been considered as abrogated by the restoration of

Popery, and in this view Queen Elizabeth and Archbishop Parker seem to have concurred. Not waiting for the readoption of so elaborate a series of Articles as the XLII. of Edward's reign, though such a series was being actually under consideration, and was soon to be published as the XXXIX. Articles of 1562, there issued from the royal press, "by order of both Archbishops, Metropolitans, and the rest of the Bishops," the Eleven Articles of 1559.

Insisting that the Papist should grant that the Prayer-Book was "Catholic and Apostolic," it provided in more emphatic terms that the Puritan should confess that it was not lawful for him to take any ecclesiastical ministry upon himself until called thereto in accordance with the laws of the realm.

What the laws of the realm were we have seen, when dealing with these Eleven Articles (on p. 136). To quote our own words: —

If a man appealed to the ordinances of the realm, the appeal lay to the Ordinal.

If a man appealed to the ordinances of the Church, the appeal lay likewise to the Ordinal.

The Eleven Articles were, as we have already observed, to be read in public by all the clergy at their first entry into their cures, *and twice a year thereafter*. They thus concerned the *continual practice and teaching of the clergy*; and moreover, while the subscription of any Formulary was effected only between a minister and his Ordinary, the public reading in Church of a declaration worded throughout in the first person singular and ending with this exhortation, "I exhort you all of whom I have cure, heartily and obediently to embrace and receive the same," could not fail to act as a check on the clergy, since the laity could easily perceive whether the daily teaching of the minister was the same as that embodied in the confession made under the "Eleven Articles."

§ V. *The XXXIX. Articles of 1562.*

Of these Articles nothing need here be said, as we have not to deal with their doctrinal significance, but only with their enforcement by subscription. Subscription was not enforced till 1571, on reaching which date we will see what these Articles have to tell us on the matter in hand. (See § IX. p. 157.)

It may, however, be as well to note here that all Church au-

thorities — Archbishops, Bishops, Convocation, or Ecclesiastical Commissioners — in their references to these Articles always refer to them as the Articles of 1562; and never even when enforcing subscription do they refer to the Statute Act of 1571, which by Parliamentary law made subscription compulsory on all the clergy, but always to the Articles as passed by the Convocation of 1562. The reasons of this silence we will examine later on, under § IX., so as to keep the whole subject-matter under one head.

According to Soames, these Articles were passed on January 31, the Bishops seem to have subscribed to them on January 29, and the principal members of Convocation on Feb. 5, 1562-63.

§ VI. *The Advertisements of 1564.*

In the year 1563, and before the same Convocation that passed the Articles commonly called the Articles of 1562, there were submitted seven Articles for adoption by the Lower House.

Number 1 was against responsive singing, or reading, of the Psalms, and against all musical instruments. 2. Against lay Baptism and the sign of the Cross. 3. Against kneeling at the Holy Eucharist. 4. That the copes and surplices be laid aside, and that the habit of the desk and the pulpit be the same. 5. Against gowns and caps. 6. That the clause in Article 33 of the Articles of 1552 against breaking the traditions and ceremonies be considerably softened down. 7. Against Saints' days. [See Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. p. 486.]

Although after considerable debate these Articles were much modified, and reduced to six, yet they did not succeed in passing. The Puritan party, notwithstanding their defeat in Convocation, continued to set the law at defiance in their ministrations, and to uphold their conduct in the pulpit. Consequently the Queen, on Jan. 25, 1564, wrote to the Primate, as head of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, complaining of these irregularities "as tending to breed some schism or deformity in the Church." As the immediate consequence of that letter the Advertisements were issued in March. The chief provisions of these Advertisements were, so far as they concern our inquiry: —

That all preachers should be "examined for their conformity in unity of doctrine."

That all licenses issued prior to the first of March be void, but be renewed to meet persons.

That the celebrant, gospeller, and epistoler use copes, the surplice to be used in other ministrations.

That no ministers be "admitted to serve without testimony of the diocesan from whence they come."

Concerning these Advertisements, Cardwell rightly states that the point at issue was not the necessity of wearing the same apparel that was used by the Romanists, "but the real point at issue being, and soon afterwards showing itself to be, the right principle of Church government" [*Doc. Ann.* vol. i. p. 321].

It is for that reason that a survey, no matter how brief, of the contest of the Puritans against the Ordinal would be incomplete without some reference to the Advertisements. By recalling the licenses, and examining the applicants as to their doctrine before granting fresh ones, it was hoped to silence the depravers of the Prayer-Book and Ordinal.

§ VII. *The Canons of 1571.*

The Convocation of 1571 which sat between April 3 and May 30 passed a book of Canons in April. The date of April can be fixed by means of the Canon on Bishops. One of the enactments of that Canon was that all licenses should be recalled before the September following. In other words, all licenses issued before the passing of the Canon were to be considered void. Now, the order issued by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners on June 7, 1571, in consequence of these Canons, instructs church-wardens to see that the minister "be such as is licensed to preach after the first of May last," hence the Canons must have been passed before the first of May, 1571.

The instructions of the Bishop of Ely to his Chancellor, under date of August 28, 1571, are to the same effect.

It was further ordained that all preachers having licenses to preach at any time before the last day of April last must render up the old license unto the Bishop of the Diocese, etc. [Strype's *Parker*, vol. ii. p. 61].

Before the applicant could obtain a fresh license he had to subscribe to the XXXIX. Articles of 1562 and promise to maintain and defend the doctrine in them contained, as being most agreeable to the Word of GOD.

Besides this clause ordering the recall of licenses so that doctrine inclining to Rome or Geneva might not be taught in the pulpit, there were two other injunctions laid on Bishops in this Canon *De Episcopis* which need mention.

The Bishops were not to lay hands on any that were brought up in husbandry, or some other mean trade or calling, but all the candidates should well understand the Latin tongue, and be conversant in the Scriptures.

That they should suffer none who by an idle name called themselves readers, *and received not imposition of hands* in the ministry of the Church.

Episcopus neminem, qui se otioso nomine lectorem vocet, et manus impositionem non acceperit, in ecclesiae ministerio versari patietur.

These provisions were aimed against the Puritans and those who denied the exclusive validity of Episcopal ordination. The country was being filled with ignorant men who, as the Archbishop had said, "sought under cover of reformation the ruin and subversion both of learning and religion."

Tailors, bricklayers, and such like set themselves up as blind leaders of the blind, and justified their conduct by the text *Spiritus ubi vult spirat*.¹

Nor was any person to be received into the ministry of the Church in any Diocese, without dimissory letters from the Bishop of the Diocese he was leaving. This clause would not only serve the purpose of preventing excommunicated, deposed, or suspended clerics from entering a Diocese as clerks in good standing, but would enable the Bishop of the Diocese he sought to enter to ascertain not only as to the moral fitness of the applicant, but also as to his orthodoxy in doctrine and conformity to the Prayer-Book and Ordinal. What perhaps was still more important, it would be a means of discovering such men as had forged letters of Orders.

At the end of the Canon, "Æditui ecclesiarum et alii selecti viri," mention is made of the celebrated *Book of Advertisements*, about which there has of late years been so considerable a dis-

¹ "A bricklaer taken upon him the office of preaching, affirmed he might lawfully do it, though he were not called thereonto by ye Church. For *Spiritus ubi vult spirat*." Huggard's *Displaying of the Protestantes*, sign B. iii. as quoted by Hardwick, p. 102, note.

One of the Kentish ministers cited before Archbishop Whitgift in 1583 has against his name, "No graduate, lately a tailor."

cussion, and of which we made a cursory survey in the last section.

By this and other Synods, as Cardwell rightly states, the Advertisements were always considered as having the most perfect authority. The Advertisements, like these Canons of 1571, were not formally sanctioned by the Queen. When dealing with the enforced subscription to the Articles under Section IX., we will recur to this apparent lack of royal sanction.

The Canons of 1571 were issued in Latin, unnumbered, but with a heading containing the subject-matter. An edition in English was also shortly put out; as, however, the Latin seems to have been the only authoritative edition, or at any rate appears to have been the only form in which they were passed by Convocation, the Canon on preachers is given in full in Latin.

CONCIONATORES.

Imprimis vero videbunt, ne quid unquam doceant pro concione quod a populo religiose teneri et credi velint, nisi quod consentaneum sit doctrinae veteris aut novi Testamenti, quodque ex illa ipsa doctrina Catholici patres, et veteres Episcopi colgerint, et quoniam articuli illi religionis Christianæ in quos consensum est ab Episcopis in legitima et Sancta Synodo, jussa atque auctoritate serenissimæ Principis Elizabethæ convocata et celebrata, haud dubie collecti sunt ex sacris libris veteris et novi Testamenti, et cum coelesti doctrina, quæ in illis continetur, per omnia congruunt; quoniam etiam liber publicarum precum, et liber de inauguratione Archiepiscoporum, Episcoporum, Presbyterorum, et Diaconorum, nihil continent ab illâ ipsâ doctrina alienum; quicunque mittentur ad docendum populum, illorum articulorum auctoritatem et fidem, non tantum concionibus suis sed etiam subscriptione confirmabunt. Qui secus fecerit, et contraria doctrinâ populum turbaverit excommunicabitur [Cardwell's *Synodalia*, Oxford, 1842, vol. i. p. 126].

Or in English: —

PREACHERS.

First, however, they shall take care not to teach anything for a sermon, which they wish the people religiously to hold and believe, except what is agreeable to the doctrine of the old, or new Testament, and which the Catholic Fathers and ancient Bishops have gathered from that very doctrine; and since these Articles of the Christian Religion, to which the Bishops agreed in a lawful and holy Synod which by command and authority of the most serene Lady Elizabeth was convoked and held, were undoubtedly gathered from the Sacred books of the old and new Testament, and agree throughout with the Heavenly doctrine

contained in those Testaments : Since, moreover, the *Book of Common Prayer, and the Book of the Ordination of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons* contain nothing at variance with this very doctrine, whoever shall be sent to teach the people shall confirm the authority and truth of these Articles, not only in their Sermons, but also by subscription.

He who shall have done otherwise, and who shall have disturbed the people by contrary teaching, shall be excommunicated.

Here, again, the Canon on Preachers runs contrary to the cry of the Puritans, who maintained that the *Book of Common Prayer, and especially the Ordinal*, was contrary to the doctrine of the Old and New Testaments.

§ VIII. *Act 13 Elizabeth, c. 12.*

Under this Act, which received the royal assent May 29, 1571, it was required that —

Every one under the degree of a Bishop, which doth or shall pretend to be a priest or minister of God's holy Word and Sacraments by reason of any other form of institution, consecration, or ordering than the form set forth by Parliament in the time of the late King of most worthy memory, King Edward Sixth, or now used in the reign of our most gracious Sovereign lady, before the feast of the Nativity of CHRIST, next following, shall in the presence of the Bishop, or guardian of the spiritualities of some one Diocese, where he hath, or shall have Ecclesiastical living, declare his assent, and subscribe to all the Articles of Religion, which only concern the confession of the true Christian faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments comprised in a book entitled —

and here follows the title of the XXXIX. Articles of 1562.

This Act, therefore, barred Roman Priests and Deacons from holding a cure without first assenting to the XXXIX. Articles ; since the only Priests or Ministers or Deacons who could pretend to have received any form of legal institution, consecrating, or ordering than that set forth under Edward VI. or Elizabeth were those who had been so ordained under the reign of Mary, and who of course under that reign were the *only* legal Priests or Ministers or Deacons.

Henceforth, then, the two side avenues to the Church's cures were barred, the Roman and the Puritan.

Even this very *Act 13 Eliz. c. 12*, further enacted that :

No person now permitted by any dispensation or otherwise, shall retain any Benefice with Cure, being under the age of one and twenty years, or

not being a Deacon at least, and none shall be made Minister, or admitted to preach or administer the Sacraments, being under the age of twenty-four years, nor unless he bring the Bishop of the Diocese testimonial of his regular life and of his professing the Doctrine expressed in the said Articles. . . . And lastly all Admissions to Benefices, Institutions, and Inductions contrary to the form and provision of this Act, and all Toleration, Dispensations, Qualifications, and Licenses whatsoever to be made to the contrary hereof shall be void in Law.

The Puritans, who were ever on the watch how to avoid sanctioning the Ordinal, seized hold on one word in the first part of this Act, the word "only," and under cover of that word refused to sign the XXXIX. Articles. Their plea was that they had merely to sign those Articles "which *only* concern the true Christian Faith and the Doctrine of the Sacraments," and that therefore by this limitation all of the XXXIX. Articles which related to the Homilies (which they detested, owing to their strong doctrine), to the Ordinal, and to the Authority of the Church, were not to be included in the Articles presented them for their subscription [Collier, p. 530].

The word "only" in the text of the Act of course referred to all the Articles, and was used in an apologetic or explanatory sense of the contents of the whole of these Articles, and was in that first section of the Act, which, as we have seen, was aimed at the Roman Catholics. It was as much as to say, "We do not want you to declare your Orders to be invalid, or to make any other Confession of Faith in signing these XXXIX. Articles, for after all, they only contain a Confession of the Christian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Holy Sacraments."

By raising a quibble as to the meaning of the word "only," and maintaining that the law did not require them to do so, the Puritans refused to subscribe to all the XXXIX. Articles, thus appealing from one Act to another Act.

As a conclusion to these remarks on this statute the words of Sir Edward Coke, as quoted by Collier [p. 530], are singularly appropriate.

And that this (*i. e.* Subscription to all the Articles without exception) was the meaning of the Legislature is further made good by Sir Edward Coke's authority, who positively affirms, That the Subscription required by the Clergy takes in all the Nine and thirty Articles. And that by this Statute the Delinquent is disabled and deprived, *ipso facto*. He adds further:—

'That when one Smith subscribed the Nine and thirty Articles with this addition (so far forth as the same were agreeable to the word of GOD) 't was resolved by Sir Christopher Wray, Chief Justice in the King's Bench, and all the Judges of England, that this subscription was not according to the Statute of 13 Elizabeth, cap. 12 [Coke's *Reports*, liber 6, fol. 29, Green's case].

Because the Statute required an absolute Subscription, whereas this Subscription made it conditional. And further, this Act was made for avoiding Diversity of Opinions, &c. But by this qualification or addition, the party might by his own private opinion take some of the Articles to be against the Word of GOD; and so by this means diversity of opinions would not be avoided. And thus the scope of the Statute and the very Act itself made touching Subscription would be of none effect. Thus far Sir Edward Coke [*Institutes*, part iv. fol. 323, 324].

From the days of Elizabeth to those of Victoria the Puritans have always, possibly owing to what Archbishop Parker called their "Germanical natures," shown a singularly convenient inability to understand plain English.

§ IX. *Subscription to the XXXIX. Articles enforced by Parliament, 1571.*

By the *Act 13 Eliz. c. 12*, subscription to the XXXIX. Articles as passed by Convocation in 1562 was, as we have just seen, made by Parliament compulsory on all the clergy.

There is little need to say much here concerning these Articles. Convocation in 1553 had passed XLII. Articles, as we have seen, which were reduced to XXXIX. by the Convocation of 1562, and now in 1571 Parliament enforces subscription to them. The XXXIX. Articles are thus made not only the law of the Church, but the law of the realm. They are not a creed, but partake more of the nature of a declaration of principles affecting the chief matters of controversy then existing. The popular conception of them is certainly very curious. They have been called by some outside of the Church the Creed of the Church; whereas, of course, the Church of England recognizes but the Three Creeds.

Protestants of all stripes have in latter times spoken of the XXXIX. Articles as if they were so many mysterious charms by which the "Protestant religion" could alone be saved.

They seem to have derived as much comfort from the XXXIX. Articles as the old woman did from the repetition of "that there soothing word 'Mesopotamia'" in her parson's sermons. They appear to have looked upon them as the only comforting

words between the covers of the Prayer-Book. Their ancestors knew better; for the Low Church party in the Church of England is *the only party which has ever endeavored to get rid of the XXXIX. Articles!* Not once, but repeatedly.

Another misconception is that the Articles contain the highest form of Calvinism, whereas the truth is that the Articles which did contain Calvinistic doctrine were what are called "the Lambeth Articles," and that notwithstanding the repeated attempts, especially the two determined ones of 1595 and 1603, to foist them on the Church, the Church utterly repudiated them.

The clause in Article XX., "The Church hath power to decree Rites or Ceremonies, and authority in controversies of Faith," which the Puritans, Presbyterians, etc., so strongly objected to, does not appear in some of the copies of the Articles issued between 1563 and 1571. This was one of those Articles which they endeavored to shirk, on the quibble already noticed, that it "only concerned the confession of the true Christian Faith and the Doctrine of the Sacraments."

To us there seems very little doubt that the Puritans resorted to one of their favorite weapons, — falsification, — and that it was they who caused copies of the Articles to be printed with the omission of the Article they detested.

Archbishop Laud did not scruple, when absurdly accused of having added the clause, to retort the charge of falsification on the Puritan party.

"I do openly here in the Star Chamber charge upon that pure Sect this foul corruption of falsifying the Articles of the Church of England. Let them take it off as they can" [as quoted by Collier, vol. ii. p. 487].

Heylin, in *History of Presbyterianism* [p. 283], gives another instance of falsification which occurred about the same date. Since editions of the Prayer-Book were issued in which two services opposed by the Puritans, the order for private baptism and confirmation of children —

was quite omitted, which grand omissions were designed to no other purpose, but by degrees to bring the Church of England into some conformity to the desired orders of Geneva.

The opinion of the patient and erudite Strype is also against the Puritans in the matter of the omitted clause.

So that at length an edition that appeared abroad in the same year, printed by John Day, wanting the clause, hath been judged, and that upon good grounds, to be spurious; and the rasure of the Church's power and authority, to be owing to the interest and cunning of a faction that then prevailed much, and had not a few favourers at court, which indeed we see abundantly in this present history, and by the labours and troubles our Archbishop¹ continually underwent on that account [Strype's *Life of Parker*, vol. ii. p. 56. Oxford, 1821].

Parallel with this is the constant endeavor, past and present, to prove the seven letters of S. Ignatius and the Epistles to Saints Timothy and Titus forgeries, on account of their uncomfortable teaching on Apostolical succession.

Before leaving these XXXIX. Articles a word must be said why the Church authorities have so unanimously passed over the Parliamentary Statute of 1571, which is always cited as having given legality to the enforcement of subscription to those Articles. This silence on the part of Church authorities appears so strange to many writers that all kinds of explanations for it have been given, some of them very far-fetched. To discuss the whole matter fully would require a whole article in the CHURCH REVIEW, nor would it be an unprofitable task, as there seems to be so much misconception on the point. Briefly, however, the reason seems to be that the Church authorities considered the *Act 13 Eliz. c. 12* superfluous, so far as it gave legality to subscription to the Articles. They considered that they had legal power inherent in themselves to enjoin and enforce subscription to whatever Articles they chose to put forward, without asking "by your leave" of the Parliament. This appears to the writer the simple reason, and the true one.

Accordingly, when the Convocation of 1571 met, although the Parliamentary Statute was not then passed, the Primate ordered every member of Convocation, on penalty of exclusion, there and then to sign the Articles of 1562. The Articles were thereupon read out aloud, and every member of both houses subscribed to them.

The Canons of 1571, enjoining subscription to the Book of Articles of 1562, as we have seen, contain no allusion to the statute then being passed through Parliament.

Parker's Three Articles of June, 1571, enjoined subscription to the Book of Articles of 1562; no reference again to the

¹ That is, Archbishop Parker.

statute just passed, and assented to by the Queen. The XV. Articles passed by Convocation in 1576 likewise enjoin subscription to the Articles of 1562, with no reference to the statute; and so Whitgift's Three Articles, the XXIV. Articles of 1584, and Canon 36 of the Canons of 1604, in force till 1865, all require subscription to the Articles of the Convocation of 1562, and never allude to the Statute of 1571.

The same reason actuated the Queen in refusing her formal sanction to the Advertisements of 1564, to the Canons of 1571, and to the successive steps which the Bishops or Ecclesiastical Commissioners took for the enforcement of conformity to the Prayer-Book or Ordinal. However keen the Queen might be after money, and however scandalously she may have acted in appropriating Church revenues, she was not so Erastian as even some of the Bishops. The title "Head of the Church" was distasteful to her, as arrogating an honor due to CHRIST alone. She considered that whatever Convocation did touching doctrine, or the discipline of the clergy, Parliament had no inherent right to meddle with, either by sanctioning by a special Act, or by disannulling. She even went farther, and considered that each successive step which the Bishops might consider necessary to take to enforce conformity did not require direct and fresh sanction at their hands; *that they had the authority inherent in their office.*

It is perfectly true that some of the Bishops, and even Parker, were anxious to obtain the Queen's formal sanction or the authority of Parliament for what they did; but the reason for this was probably on Parker's side, that he might "level up" the Puritan Bishops and give them no excuse to avoid enforcing conformity, and on the part of the Bishops generally that they might overawe the boldness of the Puritan leaders by representing them as disloyal subjects to the State, as well as to the Church.

If this view of Elizabeth's conduct be the correct one, as we submit it is, then we have the key to what seems so unnecessarily puzzling to many writers in the fact that Church documents were issued, and their provisions acted upon and enforced, although, as they complain, without royal authority; and the silence of these or similar documents on the Statute of 1571 is likewise accounted for.

The same general principle governs the whole: —

The inherent right of the Church to rule herself, either by her voice expressed in Convocation, or by the Bishops speaking on behalf of Convocation.

§ X. *Order of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, June 7, 1571.*

The Parliament which had met on April 2 was prorogued on May 29, and Convocation, which had assembled on April 3, broke up on May 30.

As a result of the Canons passed by Convocation, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners lost no time in issuing an order headed: "The Commissioners Ecclesiastical to all Church wardens concerning the Puritan Ministers," and omitting the preamble, the charge is as follows: —

We wil and require you, and in the Queen's Majesties name straitly charge and command you, and every of you, that in no wise ye suffer any person or minister to minister any sacrament, or say any publick prayers, in any your churches, chappels, or other places appointed for common prayers, in any other order, maner, or sort, than only according to the prescription in the Book of Common Prayer, and the Queen's Majesties law published in that behalf.

And that in no wise you suffer any person publicly or privatly to teach, read, or preach, in any the said churches, parishes, chappels, private houses, or other places, unles such be licenced to preach, read, or teach, by the Queen's Highnes authority, the Archbishop of Canterbury his licence, or by the licence of the Bishop of the dioces: and that he be such a minister as is licensed to preach after the first of May last, and not removed from the ministry by us, or any other lawfull authority [Strype's *Parker*, Appendix, Number LXII. vol. iii. p. 183].

§ XI. *Parker's Three Articles, passed in June, 1571.*

In the history of the conflict of the Church with the Puritans, Precians, and Parity-men, *et hoc genus omne*, there are no more important Articles than the Three Articles which Parker insisted on the clergy subscribing, and which we have named Parker's *Three Articles*.

We know of no writer that has given them that prominence they deserve. A few have an incidental notice of them, or relegate an obscure allusion to them in a foot-note. Many seem to have confounded them with Whitgift's Three Articles. They seem to have escaped the notice of even the painstaking Hard-

wick, for there is not a stray allusion to them in his book on the Articles.

The references by Whitgift, in his *Defence of the Answer to the Admonition*, to Three Articles to which Cartwright and his compeers strongly objected, make it evident that there must have been in force before the publication of the *Admonition* in 1571 Three Articles directed against the Puritans. The remarks, therefore, that follow on these *Three Articles* do not profess in any way to be a summary of what has already been said by others on the subject, but are the result of such researches as can at best be but very limited on this continent. Enough, however, will, it is hoped, be said to show the extreme importance of these Articles, while at the same time it must be borne in mind that much more might be said on further research.

The Convocation, as we have seen, passed canons regulating the action of Bishops and preachers so as to prevent the intrusion of unworthy, unlearned, or unauthorized ministers. One of the means of effecting this was the plan of recalling all licenses, and enjoining that the applicants should subscribe to the XXXIX. Articles as approved by the Synod in 1562, and that they would defend the doctrine therein contained. We saw what injunctions the Ecclesiastical Commissioners issued in the Advertisements of 1564, and also the order they issued after the passage of these Canons, on June 7, 1571, to the church-wardens; incidentally we have also noticed the instructions given by the Bishop of Ely to his Chancellor, on August 28.

How to carry out effectually the wishes of Convocation, as expressed in the Canons referred to under Section VII., was the task the Archbishop now set before himself. Grindal, Archbishop of York, was lukewarm, and so was Parkhurst of Norwich and Sandys of London. On the other hand, Jewel of Sarum promised to stand by the Archbishop, and so did Horne of Winchester, Cox of Ely, Ballingham of Worcester, and Curteis of Chichester.

Parker determined to strike an effectual blow at the Puritans by dealing with their principal leaders. These were accordingly cited to appear at Lambeth, to answer for their erroneous doctrine and for their non-conformity to the Prayer-Book. Some were merely admonished; others had to resign their benefices.

This occurred on June 6, as appears from a document signed by Deringe, one of the leading Puritans. On the very next day, June 7, the order to the church-wardens was issued; this dealt with the Puritans in the country as well as in London.

Whether Archbishop Parker had already, prior to June 6, framed the *Three Articles* or not, the writer is unable to ascertain; the probabilities are that they were not, but that finding the Puritans evaded the injunctions of the Commissioners, or possibly did not appear when cited, the Archbishop determined to devise more effectual means to obtain conformity. If the *Three Articles* had been framed prior to the issue of the order to the church-wardens, they would most likely have been mentioned. Be that as it may, they certainly were not only framed, but actually tendered for subscription before July 4. For we read in a petition of Robert Johnson, domestic chaplain to Lord Bacon, to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, dated August 14, 1571, —

That whereas the 4th of July last, being before their Lordships to answer to their three articles, he did forbear to subscribe to the first of them, etc. [See Strype's *Parker*, vol. ii. p. 70.]

Historically speaking, then, the Canons of 1571 were the origin of Parker's *Three Articles*, although they derived their legal authority from being issued by Parker, as head of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners appointed by the Queen.

The strong authority claimed by the Commissioners comes out very forcibly in the letter of remonstrance which the Commissioners addressed to the Duke of Norfolk, who had endeavored to shield the notorious Robert Brown¹ from the reach of the Commissioners by claiming that as his domestic chaplain, Brown was in a place of privilege.

Our Commission (so reply the Commissioners) extendeth to all places as well exempt, as not exempt, within Her Majesty's dominions, and before this time never by any called into question. . . . We would be loath to use other means to bring him (*i. e.* Brown) to his answer, as we must be forced to do if your grace will not like hereof [quoted by Strype's *Parker*, vol. ii. p. 68].

¹ Brown became the founder of the "Brownists," the ancestors of the Independents and Congregationalists. After eighteen years' schismatical preaching Brown conformed; but, as Strype says, "he still continued very freakish."

When the Commissioners addressed a personage of the standing of the Duke of Norfolk thus, and, as we shall see, attacked the chaplain of the Lord Keeper Bacon, they could not have had much doubt of their legal authority, although, as will be noticed, they studiously ignore the Parliamentary Statute, 13 *Eliz. c. 12*, just passed.

Having therefore shown the approximate date of the issue of these Articles, the second week in June, 1571, and their historical origin, the Canons of 1571, and their legal authority, the Queen's Ecclesiastical Commissioners, there remains but to give the wording of the Articles.

By the help of Whitgift's *Defence of the Answer to the Admonition*, and the letter of complaint of the Puritan Johnson, we are able to give their very terms, *for the first time since the Reformation.*

PARKER'S THREE ARTICLES.

I. That the book, commonly called the Book of Common Prayer for the Church of England, authorized by Parliament, and all and every contents therein be such as are not repugnant to the word of GOD [Whitgift's *Works*, vol. iii. p. 326].

II. That the manner and order appointed by Public Authority about the Administration of the Sacraments, and Common Prayers, and that the apparel by sufficient authority appointed for the ministers within the Church of England, be not wicked, nor against the Word of GOD, but tolerable, and being commanded for order and obedience' sake are to be used [*Ibid.* p. 458].

III. That the Articles of Religion which only concern the true Christian Faith and the Doctrine of the Sacraments comprised in a book imprinted: *Articles whereupon it was agreed by both Archbishops, and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole clergy in the Convocation holden at London, in the year of our Lord 1562, according to the computation of the Church of England*, and every of them contained true and godly Christian doctrine.

Articles I. and II. speak for themselves. The words "repugnant to the Word of GOD" were brought in because that was the pet Puritan phrase against the Prayer-Book, just as "wicked and anti-Christian" was brought in, in the Canons of 1604, because that was the stock phrase of the Presbyterians against the doctrine and government of the Church.

Article III. enjoins subscription to the XXXIX. Articles of 1562. There is a material point to be noticed bearing on the

quibble raised afterward by the Puritans on the word "only," as referred to already under Section VIII. The very preamble of the *Act 13 Eliz. c. 12* is used, "which only concern the true Christian Faith," etc., but there is added at the end of the title the words, "and every of them." The addition of these four words, added as they are in an unstudied manner, and *before the quibble* was raised, show quite clearly what was meant by the Act within a month of its being passed, and by the persons whom it intimately concerned.

When Robert Johnson wrote to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners on August 14 on the subject of these Three Articles he says that as to Article I. he would put up with the Prayer-Book, and was ready to declare the contents

were not defective, nor expressly contrary or against the Word of God, and that the imperfections thereof might for unity and charity sake be suffered till God grant a time of perfect reformation.

To the second he submits in the following terms:—

To the Second, That the minister's apparel as it was not wicked, and directly against the Word of God, being by the Prince appointed only for policy, obedience, and order sake, might be used; yet not generally expedient nor edifying.

He thus submits, ungraciously and grudgingly perhaps, still he submits to the first two Articles. To the third, which he repeats *in extenso*, and has thus preserved for us, he submits without a murmur; he does not raise a single objection.

Let it be noted that Robert Johnson¹ was a leading man, that he was chaplain to Lord Bacon, that he dates his letter from Bacon's house at Gorhambury, beside S. Albans, and sends it

¹ This Robert Johnson, like Brown, afterward conformed. Johnson appears, however, to have conformed with more heart than Brown, for Strype mentions a sermon of his on Sept. 3, 1609, where he blamed the laity "for refusing their own parish churches, and to hear their own pastors were they never so well learned or well habited in speech because they wore a surplice, or made a cross upon a child, and would run after and get them a heap of teachers, that spake evil of them that were in authority—that would rail against Bishops," etc.; and in another sermon he spoke of "schismatical spirits who, under color of zeal, etc., would, if they could, banish those Bishops which CHRIST and His apostles appointed, and would turn all discipline and government upside down, churches into chambers, Bishops into Syndics," etc.

All very good and true, but the pity is that he had not followed his own advice years before.

in all human probability after having submitted it to the keen and almost unrivalled intellect of his patron. What becomes, then of the quibble on the word "only"? If Parliament had intended to limit the subscription to some of the Articles, clumsily and ungrammatically as they would have expressed such an intention in the wording of the Act, yet Bacon would have known of that intention, and have quickly pointed out to his *protégé* a legal, and therefore effective, means of defying the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

These articles are important as adding another convincing proof, if one were needed, that Chief-Judge Coke's ruling was the right one. They are, however, still more important as having been the immediate cause of the publication of the celebrated *Admonition* to Parliament by the Puritans before May, 1572, which led to Whitgift's *Answer to the Admonition*, which in turn brought out Cartwright's *Reply to the Answer*, to which succeeded Whitgift's *Defence of the Answer to the Admonition*, followed by Cartwright's *Second Reply*.

The importance of Parker's *Three Articles* are historically, therefore, very great. When dealing with the *Admonition* controversy later on, we shall refer to them again; for the present we pass on to the next section.

§ XII. *The Queen's Proclamation of Oct. 20, 1573.*

The heading of this proclamation is: "A proclamation against the despisers or breakers of the Orders prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer."

This proclamation was one of the results of the *Admonition* controversy alluded to in the last section. The following clause instructing magistrates and others is all that we need give:

If any person shall by public preaching, writing, or printing contemn, despise, or dispraise the orders contained in the said book (*i. e.* Book of Common Prayer), they shall immediately apprehend him, and cause him to be imprisoned until he have answered to the law, &c. [Strype's *Documentary Annals*, vol. vi. p. 385].

Comment is unnecessary.

§ XIII. *The XV. Articles passed by Convocation in March, 1576.*

Parker died May 17, 1575, and Grindal was not appointed Archbishop till Feb. 15, 1576.

Of these Articles only the substance of those which concern our inquiry need be given.

I. Subscription to the XXXIX. Articles of 1562 enjoined on all candidates for ordination, who were to be ordained only on Sundays or Holy days and according to the form prescribed in the Ordinal.

III. Unlearned ministers formerly ordained not to be admitted to any cure or function.

IV. and V. enjoin diligent inquiry in each Diocese for the discovery of such as have counterfeited letters of Orders.

IX. None under a Deacon to be allowed to preach.

These Articles again afford no loophole for any one to enter the ministry except according to the form of Episcopal ordination provided in the Ordinal. They also go farther. They show a strong desire on the part of Convocation to weed out the unlearned men who at all times smuggle themselves in, despite all regulations; and what is still more remarkable, the provisions of the IV. and V. Articles point to a scandal, which must have been caused by the Puritans only because the Papist had no need to forge letters of Orders, since his own Orders were never called into question.

The IX. was a blow struck at the gospellers, or readers. If a layman could not preach, *a fortiori*, a layman could not administer the Sacrament.

So far, then, as the year 1576 there are no signs discoverable on the part of Convocation to admit anything but the exclusive validity of Episcopal ordination.

It must also be borne in mind that the Puritans had not been without influence in this very Convocation, for it was through them that the last four were passed. The XII., which allowed none but "a lawful Minister or Deacon" to baptize privately, was a concession on lay baptism against which the Puritans were always reviling. The XIII. and XIV. related to commutations of penance and matters of discipline. The XV. provided for the solemnization of matrimony at *all* times of the year,— in other words, allowing marriages in Lent.

The Queen refused to sanction the XII. and XV., hence these Articles are sometimes known as the XIII. Articles of 1576. But Convocation passed the whole fifteen, although when the Articles were printed only thirteen were given.

Strong, therefore, as Puritan influence was in the Convocation

of 1576, there was no tampering with the Ordinal, or any relaxation in subscription to the Articles allowed.

§ XIV. *Whitgift's Three Articles of April, 1584.*

These Articles have been very inaccurately stated to be the same as Parker's *Three Articles*, or, rather, Parker's *Three Articles* have been passed over because they were considered to be the same as Whitgift's *Three Articles*. Even in the Preface to the *Liturgical Services, Queen Elizabeth*, edited by the Parker Society, this mistake is made of confounding these two sets of Articles. We have seen what Parker's Articles really were. The following are those issued by Whitgift:—

I. That Her Majesty, under GOD, hath, and ought to have, the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within her realms, and dominions, and countries, of what estate ecclesiastical or temporal soever they be. And that none other foreign power, prelate, state, or potentate hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, or preëminence, or authority ecclesiastical or temporal, within Her Majesty's said realms, dominions, or countries.

II. That the Book of Common Prayer, and of ordering Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, containeth nothing in it contrary to the Word of GOD. And that the same may be lawfully used; and that he himself will use the form of the said book prescribed, in public prayer, and administration of the Sacraments, and none other.

III. That he alloweth the book of Articles of religion, agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of both provinces, and the Clergy in Convocation holden at London, in the year of our LORD, 1562, and set forth by Her Majesty's authority. And that he believeth all the Articles therein contained to be agreeable to the Word of GOD [Strype's *Whitgift*, vol. 1. p. 230].

None were permitted to "preach, read, catechise, minister the Sacraments, or to execute any other ecclesiastical function, by what authority soever he be admitted thereunto, unless he first consent and subscribe to these Articles, before the Ordinary of the Diocese wherein he preacheth, readeth, catechiseth, or ministereth the Sacraments."

The enforcement of subscription to these Three Articles gave great offence to the " maintainers of the discipline of GOD," as the Puritans and Parity-men called themselves. "They struggled with all their might to have them vacated or thrown aside,"

as Strype expresses it, and the country swarmed with pamphlets against the Bishops for "depriving many faithful ministers of the Gospel for not subscribing."

Of course the second was the great rock of offence, *because it enjoined subscription to the Prayer-Book and Ordinal.* To use Strype's forcible expression, —

The second of which, *viz.*, the approbation of the Common Prayer Book, and the form of Ordering Ministers, to be agreeable to the Word of GOD, *would not do with many that had offices and places in the Church* [Strype's *Whitgift*, vol. i. p. 241].

During Grindal's primacy, especially in the latter years, when he was growing blind, some men who did not believe in Episcopal ordination may have been admitted. Perhaps in some rare cases, men who had been "ordained" abroad in the Protestant communities at Antwerp or Geneva, had thrust themselves not into the ministry of the Church, for that they could not do so long as the Ordinal lay unrepealed, but into the cures or benefices of the Church, and thus like wolves in sheep's clothing appeared to be ministers of the Church. Perhaps there may have been such cases, although not a single authentic case has yet been brought forward of an un-Episcopally ordained man having been wittingly admitted. The Queen and the Archbishop were, however, determined to enforce the law of Church and State against Papists and Puritans alike.

If the second article was aimed against the Puritans, the first was against the Papists, and the third against both of them. The wording of the third Article, be it noted, leaves no room for even Puritan quibbling; he has to profess belief in "all the Articles."

The Bishops proceeded with their visitations, and everywhere enforced subscription to Whitgift's *Three Articles*. A list is given by Strype of non-subscribing ministers. Lord Burghley made some notes as to the opinions and doctrines of these men. They are all Puritanical objections, not one of them is a Roman objection, showing plainly, if proof were needed, the class of Non-Conformists against whom these articles were intended.

A few of these and other Puritan objections will show their opinions as to what the Ordinal taught, and will prove whether the voice of the Church of England was uncertain on the ques-

tion of the exclusive validity of Episcopal ordination or not in their ears.

The Book allows to the clergy a superiority, and establisheth not the authority of the Elders. It is contrary to GOD'S WORD to order these degrees in the Church,—Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.

Bishops and Priests can give no reason of any calling they have out of the Word of GOD.

The whole government of the Church is declared to be,—

Thus, he that teacheth in doctrine, is *Doctor*; he that exhorteth in exhortation, is *Pastor*; he that distributeth in singleness, is *Deacon*; he that ruleth in diligence, is *Senior*; he that sheweth mercy in cheerfulness, is *Widow*.

The people ought in every Church, by the Word of GOD, to choose their own Ministers. . . . Every Church, by the prescript rule of GOD'S WORD, ought to have a perpetual government of Doctor, Pastor, Seniors, Deacons, etc., which ought to rule and govern the whole Church, and every member of the same.¹

The Archbishop drew up the following three deductions that would follow from refusal to subscribe to the *Three Articles*:

I. If you subscribe not to the Article concerning the Book of Common Prayer, then by necessary consequence must follow, there is not the true service of God, and right administration of the Sacraments in the land.

II. If you subscribe not the book of Ordering Ministers, then it followeth your calling is unlawful, and the Papist argument is good: *No calling, no ministry, no Church*, etc.

III. If not to the last Article, then you deny true doctrine to be established in the churches of England, which is the main note of the Churches. And so I see no reason why I should persuade the Papists to our Religion, and to come to our Church, seeing we will not allow it ourselves [Strype's *Whitgift*, vol. i. p. 248].

When the Puritan party of the Privy Council complained to the Archbishop as to the rigor with which he was enforcing subscription to his *Three Articles* he, in the course of his reply, threw out this challenge:—

And here I do protest, and testify unto your Lordships (of the Privy Council), that the *Three Articles*, whereunto they (the non-conforming

¹ Taken from the answers in writing of Dudley Fenner. Strype's *Whitgift*, vol. i. p. 246. The following names are mentioned as having been given by this Fenner in baptism,—Joy Again, From Above, More Fruit, Dust.

ministers) are moved to subscribe, are such as I am ready by learning to defend in manner and form as they are set down, against all mislikers thereof in England or elsewhere [Strype's *Whitgift*, vol. i. p. 255].

No wonder "the Brethren," the "pseudo-evangelicals," the "Gospellers," the "Godly disciplinarians," and all their like-minded friends who had been so strenuously fighting for the "parity of ministers," called this year of grace 1584 "the woful year of subscription."

§ XV. *The Twenty-Four Articles of May, 1584.*

Whitgift succeeded Grindal in the Archbishopric on Sept. 23, 1583. Grindal, who had been lax both by inclination and through failing health, had not enforced the laws against the Puritans as rigidly as his predecessor. Whitgift determined to enforce conformity. With that object in view twenty-four Articles were drawn up by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners under authority of the Queen, in May, 1584.

These Articles were framed on a different model from all the previous ones. A man had simply to subscribe to the former formularies, or else be refused ordination, or compelled to resign his cure. Now the proceeding was different. The burden of proof that he was not guilty was thrown on the accused; as will be clearly seen by reciting any one of the Articles.

Take the eighth, for example.

8. *Item objicimus, ponimus, et articularum*, that for the space of these three years, two yeres, one yere, half a yere, three, two, or one moneth last past, you haue at the tyme of communion, and at all or some other tymes in your ministracion, vsed and worne only your ordinarie apparel and not the surplesse, as is required; declare how longe, how often, and for what cause, consideration, or entente youe haue so done, or refused so to doe. *Et objicimus conjunctim de omnibus, et divisi de quolibet.*

This is pretty severe. It is presuming at the outset that the unfortunate accused is guilty, and forces him, at the edge of the sword, as it were, to prove his complete innocence. The whole series is directed against the Puritans, and is set in the same terms as the one quoted. The latter part of the twenty-second is the only portion of them directly affecting a Papist, as it is a declaration against any foreign power, prelate, potentate, etc.

By the first one the accused is summoned to declare —

that you are a Deacon, or Minister and Priest admitted, declare by whome, and what tyme you were ordered ; and likewise that your orderinge was accordinge to the booke in that behalf by lawe of this land provided.

By the second, that he deemed "his ordering, admission, and calling into the ministrie to be lawfull and not repugnant to the Word of GOD." The third deals with canonical obedience ; the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventeenth and twentieth with "the virtuous and godly booke entituled *The Booke of Common Prayer, etc.*;" the eighth with the surplice, the ninth with the sign of the cross at baptism, the tenth and thirteenth with infant baptism, the eleventh with the ring at matrimony, the twelfth with objecting to use the form of thanksgiving for women, the fourteenth with the Litany, the fifteenth with changing the lesson for the day, the sixteenth with the Burial Service, the eighteenth with the Communion Service, the nineteenth with preaching against the Prayer-Book and assembling at conventicles, the twenty-first with former accusations, the twenty-second with subscription to the *Prayer-Book, Ordinal, and all the Articles of Religion*, the twenty-third, with preaching in houses or unlicensed places, and the twenty-fourth, that he has violated all the preceding twenty-three, wholly or in part. Familiar as Whitgift was with the Puritan contentions through his controversy with Cartwright, he dealt with them *omnia et singula* in these Articles. At the very outset the Puritan has to produce his letters of Orders, or give satisfactory proof of his Orders. If he cannot do that, — if he cannot prove that he is ordained "according to the law of this land provided," — it is useless to go on farther with the inquiry. He stands condemned.

Where is the uncertain voice in 1584?

The Puritans, on the issue of these Articles, used all their influence to have them mitigated, but in vain ; nor were they more successful with the petition they succeeded in obtaining from the House of Commons to the Upper House. The main clauses of that petition were that the Bishops should restore such "godly preachers" as had been suspended for no other crime than their refusal to subscribe to the XXXIX. Articles, and that they should not be examined on the oath *ex officio* (meaning the proceedings under the XXIV. Articles), but that the Bishops should only act upon definite informations supplied. The Lords gave them no relief. The *legality* of the proceedings under these

XXIV. Articles was never once questioned, though their rigor was complained of.

Lord Burghley, who favored the Puritans, wrote to the Archbishop pleading for less "vehement proceedings." Whitgift, under date of July 3, 1584, defends the action of the Commissioners concerning these XXIV. Articles and incidentally asserts that they were "framed by the best learned in the laws," and ingenuously asks why any object to answer if innocent of the charges laid against them. "Qui male agit odit lucem," is the answer he gives to his own question.

To satisfy objectors the Archbishop drew up a paper of "Reasons" why culpable ministers should be examined on their oaths as set out in the XXIV. Articles. These "Reasons" are given at length in Strype's *Whitgift*, vol. i. p. 318. The eleventh is as follows: —

XI. The Article for examination whether these bee Deacon or Ministers ordered according to the lawes of this lande is most necessarie: First, For the grounding of the proceeding, least the breache of the Book bee objected to them, who are not bound to observe it: Secondly, To meet with such schismaticks (whereof there is sufficient experience), *which either thrust themselves into the ministrie, without any lawful calling at all, or else take orders at Antwerp, or ellswhere beyond the sea.*

The "lawful calling" is the calling according "to the lawes of this lande," and "the lawes of this lande" are, no calling is lawful which is not according to the Ordinal, which admits only of Episcopal ordination.

"Orders at Antwerp or ellswhere beyond the sea" were Presbyterian "Orders," and these are declared to be not "according to the lawes of this lande," as not being according to the Ordinal.

What becomes of the theory that the exclusive validity is not the sole view to be tolerated and taught in the Church of England?

We have seen, when examining into the history of Parker's *Three Articles*, that they were the immediate cause of the *Admonition to Parliament*. It will be well to turn back for a while to that half-forgotten chapter in Church history.

VII. THE ADMONITION CONTROVERSY.

The opponents of the Church drew up two pamphlets in 1572, setting forth their views as to Church government, replete

with attacks on every point of the Church's doctrine, services, liturgy, worship, ritual, and government. This production derived its title from an ecclesiastical term,¹ and though addressed to Parliament, was never presented to that body, but was printed and sown broadcast over the kingdom before the prorogation of the Parliament of 1572.

Whitgift, then Dean of Lincoln, was chosen by Archbishop Parker to answer the *Admonition to Parliament*, which he accordingly did before the close of the year, in his *Answer to the Admonition*. Cartwright, one of the framers of the *Admonition*, produced under his initials, T. C., *A Reply to the Answer to the Admonition* in 1573. Whitgift thereupon wrote his *Defence of the Answer to the Admonition against the Reply of T. C.*, in 1574, in which he met Cartwright's objections paragraph by paragraph, point by point. This work, thus containing both sides, is not only conducted in the fairest method of controversy, but is a regular storehouse of the point at issue between the Church and her Puritan opponents. Cartwright published a *Second Reply*, in two parts, with an interval of two years between the parts, and can thus claim the distinction of having had the last word.

The Preface to the *Admonition* gives us a summary of the meaning of the *Admonition* itself:—

But in a few words to say what we mean. Either we must have a right ministry of God [Matt. ix. 37, 38; Eph. iv. 11, 12] and a right government of His Church [Matt. xviii. 15, 16, 17] according to the Scriptures set up (both which we lack); or else there can be no right religion, nor yet for contempt thereof can God's plagues [Prov. xxix. 18; Amos viii. 11, 12, etc.; Matt. xxi. 23, etc.; 1 Cor. xi. 30] be from us any while deferred [Works of John Whitgift. Parker Society, 1851, vol. i. p. 140].

Here, then, we see that the ministry of the Church,—that is, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons,—is the main object of the attack. The *Admonition* bears out the promise of the Preface, and is full of attacks on the ministry of the Church. The “Godly minis-

¹ Thomas Cartwright, chief of the Non-Conformists, presents the Parliament with a book called an *Admonition*, some members taking distaste at the title thereof. For seeing that *Admonition* is the lowest of ecclesiastical censures, and a preparative (if neglected) to suspension and excommunication, such suggested that if the Parliament complied not with this *Admonitor's* desires, his party (whereof he the speaker) would proceed to higher and louder fulminations [Fuller, p. 102, as quoted by Soame's *Elizabethan History*. London, 1839, p. 163, note].

try" is declared to be lacking, the "Godly ministry" being the same as that desired by the anonymous Puritan, in the *Certaine Considerations*, already referred to, and being pastors, governing elders, and providers for the poor. So we read in the *Admonition* :—

We in England are so far off from having a Church rightly reformed, according to the prescript of God's word, that as yet we are not come to the outward face of the same. . . . Touching the first, namely, the ministry of the Word, although it must be confessed that the substance of doctrine by many delivered is sound and good, yet herein it faileth, that neither the ministers thereof are according to God's Word, proved, elected, called, or ordained [*Works of Whitgift*, vol. i. p. 290].

Again, on p. 485, same volume :—

But now Bishops (to whom the right of ordering ministers doth at no hand appertain) do make sixty, eighty or one hundred at a clap, and send them abroad into the country like masterless men.

The *Admonition* grounds one of its main reasons against the Puritans signing Parker's *Three Articles* that—

This prescript form of service (as they call it) is full of corruptions, it maintaineth *an unlawful ministry* unable to execute that office [*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 336].

Referring to Parker's Third Article, which required subscription to the XXXIX. Articles, they naively assert, —

For the Articles concerning the substance of doctrine, *using a Godly interpretation in a point or two*, which are either too sparingly or else too darkly set down, we were, and are ready according to duty to subscribe unto them [*Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 461].

It is thus that the same party continue to subscribe to the same Articles, or to use the *Prayer-Book*. "*Using a Godly interpretation in a point or two*," is certainly a very convenient method of interpretation.

Touching Deacons [the *Admonition* complains] though their names be remaining, yet is the office foully perverted and turned upside down. . . . Now, it is the first step to the ministry, nay, rather a mere order of priesthood [*Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 282].

It asks for the "assistance of Elders and other officers" [p. 132], claims that "Elders or seniors ought to be in the Church when bespeaking for a Seigniory or Government by Seniors" [p. 150].

Instead of chancellors, archdeacons, officials, commissioners, proctors, doctors, summoners, church-wardens, and such like, you have to place in every congregation a lawful and godly seigniory [*Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 153].

It laments that "concerning Seniors, not only their office, but their name also is out of the English Church utterly removed" [p. 156], and that instead of the Seniors the Church yet maintains "the lordship of one man over sundry Churches" [p. 161], and claims that the whole regiment of the Church ought to be committed to those three jointly; that is, Ministers, Seniors, and Deacons [p. 295]. Of Bishops, the *Admonition* complains, "They make ministers by themselves alone, and of their sole authority" [p. 246], and holds "that a Bishop at no hand hath authority to ordain ministers" [p. 502].

But if Deacons and Bishops are treated with scant respect, the virulence of abuse is reserved for the Priesthood. It has always been so in every attack on the Church. If the Deacon is exalted, it is that the Priest may be lowered. If the Bishop is lowered, it is because he is the source of the Priesthood. If the Sacraments are disparaged, it is to sap the very foundation of things Sacramental, which derive their being from the office of the Priest. If preaching is exalted, it is because by common consent of the Catholic Church a preacher need not be a Priest.

The *Admonition*, therefore, condemns in no measured terms the retention of the word "Priest." "We speak not of the name of Priest wherewith he defaceth the Minister of CHRIST" [vol. iii. p. 350]. It is noteworthy to observe that when Whitgift, in his *Answer to the Admonition*, says that the name of Priest should not be so odious to the Puritans since its derivation is from "Presbyter," Cartwright, in his reply, is not slow to attack the weakness of that defence, for after very justly observing that it matters not what the derivation of a word is, but rather what is meant by a word in the usual and common speech, he attacks the retention of the word "Priest" as follows: —

The case standeth in this, that, forsoomuch as the common and usual speech of England is, to note by the word 'Priest,' not a minister of the Gospel, but a sacrificer, which the minister of the Gospel is not; therefore, we ought not to call the ministers of the Gospel 'Priests' [*Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 351].

The *Admonition* even denies the right of "popish Mass-mongers" to become ministers of the Gospel; in other words, it would not have the Church continue the Apostolical succession, or allow men ordained under the old Ordinal to serve in the Reformed Church. Not to overlay the text with too many quotations, let these two, taken from the conclusion of the *Admonition* where the argument is summed up, suffice:

... but CHRIST should be suffered to reign, *a true ministry according to the word instituted*, discipline exercised, Sacraments purely and sincerely ministered [*Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 461].

Neither is the controversy betwixt them and us as they would bear the world in hand, as for a cap, a tippet, or a surplice, but for great matters *concerning a true ministry*, and required of the Church according to the Word [*Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 459].

The writers of the *Admonition* have thus, in their conclusion, made good the words of their Preface, and shown that their whole object was the overthrow of the ministry *as continued in the Ordinal*. As an enemy will seize and lay hold of villages and hamlets, and small fortified places that cover the approach to the strong city, the fall of which terminates the campaign, and will even make feigned attacks on outlying points to divert the attention of the defenders, so did the whole host of Puritans, Precisions, Presbyterians, and Parity-men, attack and overthrow certain points of the Church's worship and ritual, and make feigned attacks on others, in order that they might the more easily destroy and utterly abolish the whole root of the Apostolic ministry.

To use the very words of the framers of the *Admonition*:

The way therefore, to avoid these inconveniences, and to reform these deformities, is this: Your wisdoms have to remove advowsons, patronages, impropriations, and *Bishops' authority claiming to themselves thereby right to ordain Ministers* [vol. iii. p. 8].

The point in the present controversy lies in a nutshell.

Has this authority and claim ever been removed? If so, let it be stated where, and *cadit quæstio*. If not, then the Church of England never denied the claim.

The appeal to Parliament was thus to legalize a ministry other than that then legal. It was not an appeal for liberty to worship GOD in their own way, but an appeal for the establishment of a government, regiment, or discipline, as they

variously termed it, of Seigniory, which was in fact effected when the Puritan party got the upper hand under Cromwell's Protectorate.

In the year previous to the appearance of the *Admonition*, Cartwright had been deprived from his Margaret Professorship at Cambridge, and inhibited from preaching within the jurisdiction of the University, in consequence of the Six Propositions maintained by him. Briefly they were as follows: —

I. The names and functions of Archbishops and Archdeacons ought to be suppressed.

II. The name of lawful ministers in the Church, such as Bishops and Deacons, when abstracted from the Office described in Holy Scripture are likewise to be rejected, and the whole brought back to the Apostolical Institution. And thus the Bishop's functions ought to be limited to praying and preaching, and the Deacon's to taking care of the poor.

III. The government of the Church ought . . . to be in the hands of the Minister and Elders of the same Church.

VI. That ministers ought not to be ordained on the sole authority of the Bishop, much less are they to receive Orders in a study, or such private place, but this Office ought to be conferred by a public choice of the congregation [Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, 1714, p. 525].

Cartwright and his friends also drew up XIX. Articles embracing their demands. Almost all of them strike at the Episcopacy or Priesthood of the Church. It will be sufficient to mention the III., IV., and XVIII.

III. Preaching, prayers, and administering the Sacraments ought to be performed by the same person. From hence it follows that those who are not ministers of the Word, that is, those who can't preach, ought neither to pray publicly for the congregation nor administer the Sacraments.

IV. Popish priests have no authority to be ministers of the Gospel by virtue of their own ordinations.

XVIII. These words *receive the Holy Ghost*, at the Ordination of Ministers, is a ridiculous and wicked expression.

Here, again, we have the testimony of the enemies of the Church as to what the Church meant by her Ordinal and Ministry: —

Nowhere do we find that the Puritans claimed that the Church allowed any other ordination than that by Bishops.

Nowhere do we find that the Puritans claimed that the Church considered her Bishops on a parity with her Priests.

Nowhere do we find that the Puritans claimed that the Church meant nothing by her solemn forms in Ordination, Confirmation, Holy Communion.

If the opposite contention was a true one, that the Church maintained no exclusive claim for her ministers as being Episcopally ordained, then we ought to find abundant references to that false liberality. The Puritans would have exultantly spied this weakness out, and have exclaimed, —

You call your Elders Bishops, but you allow them to do just what we claim Elders ought to do, and no more. You call your Ministers Priests, and yet they do nothing more than the Ministers we wish to establish. All the forms and ceremonies of the Church are nothing, are idle, peevish, or popish, and your Book declares them so to be; why continue them?

This would have been their argument, for they were by no means devoid of reasoning, or slow to apprehend a point in their favor. But their cry is the very reverse of this. Substantially it is, —

You admit Popish Priests on account of their Episcopal Ordination, and reject us!

You maintain the three Orders and reject our 'Apostolic Institution of Elders and Pastors and Providers for the Poor'!

You stubbornly maintain imposition of hands in Ordination and Confirmation, which we reject!

Such and such-like was their wail. All of which proves the voice of the Church was, alas, too certain for them. Whitgift's *Answer to the Admonition* was naturally violently attacked by the Puritans. One Chark, in a sermon *ad clerum*, laid down these two conclusions: —

I. Episcopatus, Archiepiscopatus, Metropolitanatus, Patriarchatus, et Papatus, a Satana in Ecclesiam introducti sunt.

II. Inter Ministros ecclesiae non debet alius alio esse Superior [Collier, vol. ii. p. 538].¹

A certain Nicholas Brown, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, declaimed in the pulpit against the —

¹ I. Bishops, Archbishops, Metropolitans, Patriarchs, and Popes, are by Satan introduced into the Church.

II. Among Ministers of the Church there ought not to be any one superior to the other.

English Ecclesiastical constitution, and pronounced the Orders received in the reigns of King Henry and Queen Mary of no significance, and those who were then made priests ought not to officiate without a new ordination. Being called to account for these heterodoxies, he was at last prevailed to recant them [Collier, vol. ii. p. 538].

Despairing of reforming the Church to their model, or of getting Parliament to alter the legal status of a minister, the Puritans erected a Presbytery at Wandsworth. Among those concerned we need only note Travers and Chark. The preamble to their resolution establishing this Presbytery was:—

That forasmuch as divers books had been written, and sundry petitions exhibited to Her Majesty, the Parliament, and their Lordships to little purpose, every man should therefore labour by all means possible to bring the Reformation into the Church [Collier, vol. ii. p. 541].

When this open act of schism became known, the Puritans, notwithstanding their influential friends at court, were vigorously pressed. To gain time most likely, they proposed a public disputation. The challenge was accepted by Sandys, Bishop of London, but Burleigh was opposed to the idea, and instead of a conference several of the leading Puritans were brought before the Council and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and examined touching their opinions on Cartwright's *Reply to the Answer to the Admonition*.

The second and third questions were, Whether the *Prayer-Book* and the XXXIX. Articles were agreeable to GOD'S Word or not? The fourth, "Whether we are obliged to follow the customs of the Primitive Church or not? The fifth, "Whether all Ecclesiastical Ministers ought to be of equal authority, both in Office and Jurisdiction?" After railing at being forced to subscribe in matters of religion, the malcontents now drew up a "Protestation" which reminds us of the recent words of the Bishop of Western New York, when speaking of the feeble title, "Protestant Episcopal." He says: "I call it feeble because a *protest* is the last resource of an unsuccessful cause. Men enter a *protest* when they give up a case they are not able to maintain."

This "Protestation" they obliged each member, on admittance to a congregation, to swear. Each of these "Protestants" had to make this "Protestation" singly and individually, as it is drawn up in the first person throughout. He begins his Pro-

testation by having to declare, "I am escaped from the filthiness and pollution of these detestable Traditions." The doctrines of the Church are called "idolatrous trash," "marks of the Romish beast," and the Church nicknamed "The Church of the Traditioners." He undertakes that he will not attend the parish Church by the following pharisaical declaration: —

I will not beautify with my presence those filthy rags, which bring the heavenly Word of the Eternal our LORD GOD into bondage, subjection, and slavery [Collier, vol. ii. p. 544].

He finally declares, —

Moreover, I have now joined myself to the Church of CHRIST, wherein I have yielded myself subject to the Discipline of GOD's Word. . . . For in the Church of the Traditioners there is no other Discipline than that which hath been maintained by the Antichristian Pope of Rome, etc.

The Church of England is then polluted, filthy, abominable, idolatrous, and Episcopal government declared "Antichristian," — the very term used by the Scotch Presbyterians.

The Wandsworth Presbytery was the first open act of schism, and these "Protestants" the first declared schismatics in England. Be it carefully noted that the cause of this schism was the refusal of Church and realm to tamper with the threefold ministry.

Our self-imposed task is concluded.

If any reader has followed us through these historic researches, we ask him, Is there the faintest doubt as to what the Church of England taught and proclaimed on the question of the exclusive validity of Episcopal ordination? Can any one lay his finger on any one official act of the Church which countenanced presbyterian ordination? It is most remarkable that almost every year between 1534 and 1589 there was some official pronouncement against any other than Episcopal ordination. The documents from which quotations have been given may be set forth thus:

1534. Abolition of the Papal Supremacy.
1535. King's Articles.
1537. Declaration of the Functions and Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests.
1538. *De Ordine et Ministerio Sacerdotum et Episcoporum.*
1543. Necessary Doctrines and Erudition for a Christian Man.
1548. The Articles of 1548.

- 1548. Justus Jonas Catechism.
- 1550. The Ordinal.
- 1551. The XLV. Articles.
- 1552. Revised Ordinal.
- 1553. The XLIII. Articles.
- 1553, July 6, to Nov. 17, 1558. Queen Mary's reign.
- 1559, March 31. Westminster Abbey Conference.
- 1559, April 28. Act of Uniformity. The Eleven Articles.
- 1561-1588. Visitation Articles.
- 1562. The XXXIX. Articles passed by Convocation.
- 1564. The Advertisements.
- 1571. The Canons of 1571.
- 1571. Act 13 Eliz. c. 12.
Subscription to XXXIX. Articles enforced by Parliament.
- Order of Ecclesiastical Commissioners.
- Parker's Three Articles.
- 1572-1580. Admonition Controversy.
- 1573. Queen's Proclamation.
- 1576. The XV. Articles.
- 1584. Whitgift's Three Articles.
- 1584.¹ The XXIV. Articles.

If the above table is carefully examined it will be found that between the years 1534-1588 official declarations were being constantly made asserting the exclusive validity of Episcopal ordination in the Church of England, and condemning either directly or by implication every other kind of ordination. For any one to assert, as Dr. Kelley did, that "no one in the Church of England thought of calling in question the validity of the Orders and Sacraments of the Reformed Churches," or to state with Dr. H. J. Van Dyke that "it is only since the days of Charles I. and his prime minister, Laud, that the Episcopal de-

¹ It will be remembered that the years 1584-89 were those when England was distracted by Jesuits' intrigues culminating in the Armada. The attention of the Church during those five years was therefore directed more to its Roman than Genevan foe. Not that the Puritan party ceased its attacks against the Threefold Ministry during those years; on the contrary, the country was flooded with venomous libels culminating in 1588 in the Martin Marprelate libels, that year being unpatriotically chosen, as they boldly owned, that the Church — a nation then in fear of outward force — might neither deny nor discourage the Puritan pretensions. The uncompromising attitude of the Church on the question of Orders may be inferred from this very manner and time of attack.

nomination has refused to recognize the validity of other ordinations besides its own" is, in both cases, historically false.

As to the latter half of Dr. Kelley's statement, that from the Reformed Churches which were presbyterian in ordination and government, "ministers and members were received to immediate and equal standing in the Church of England," in the face of the foregoing official declarations of the Church of England, it needs no reply.

No one in the Church, Archbishop or Queen, had the power to receive an un-Episcopally ordained minister on equal standing with the Priests of the Church.

With much special pleading and after an infinitude of research, six names out of the tens of thousands of Priests of the Church during that troubled period are brought forward as having possibly been recognized as Priests of the Church without having had Episcopal ordination. These six are Cartwright, Travers, Whittingham, Morrison, Barrington, and Saravia.

To persons desirous of going into the details of the first four of these cases, I beg to refer them to my article in the number of this REVIEW for October, 1889. It will there be seen that Cartwright, being a Deacon, was allowed to preach, but forbidden the exercise of any priestly ministry; that Travers was deposed and silenced for being ordained only according to the foreign Reformed use, and not according to the English Ordinal; that Whittingham was arraigned and tried, but died before the trial was concluded; that as to Morrison, it is an open question still as to whether he was not Episcopally ordained, and that even if he was not, we have no record of any of his acts.

Barrington and Saravia I hope to treat at some length at a future time, as soon as I have all the necessary material at hand. I may, however, say thus much, that the only ground for supposing Saravia to have been un-Episcopally ordained is that no record of his ordination has been found, which is a very poor argument, since many a record of much greater importance has perished by accident or design during the last three centuries in England, and that to doubt of his ordination would logically be on a par with doubting the ordination of Haddan and Gore,—writers who have equally with Saravia defended the threefold ministry. I am ready to prove that Barrington has been mentioned entirely owing to a careless reference to an Index to a

State paper, and that he was involved in a lawsuit with Whitgift not about his ordination or lack of ordination, but simply about some lands.

Let sixty instead of six such shadowy cases be brought forward, — ay, or even sixty times six, — and what would it prove? Only this, — lax administration of the law. Murders are daily committed in the United States; does that prove there is no law against murder? Does it prove that there is a law favoring murder?

It is waste of time to discuss individual cases and airy hypotheses as to what the Church might have said, when we know so well, so indisputably, what the Church has said, what the Church has pronounced.

The law of the Church of England before 1534 maintained the exclusive validity of Episcopal ordination, and of the Sacraments in connection therewith.

The law of the Church since 1589 is admitted to be the same as before 1534.

During the period of 1534 and 1589, year by year, it has been proved from *official sources*, passing by all private opinions, that the exclusive validity of Episcopal ordination was the sole view taught and enforced by the Church of England. That gap in her history having been filled, it may be said without the slightest fear of contradiction that from the earliest planting of the Church till now, — that is, for eighteen centuries at least, — there has been on the question of Episcopal ordination no stammering, stammering, or hesitancy in the voice of the Church of England.

ARTHUR LOWNDES.

Bishop Lightfoot on the Historic Episcopate.

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HISTORICALLY there are three theories as to the origin and nature of the Christian ministry. No one of them can be absolutely demonstrated from the fragmentary records of the sub-Apostolic age,¹ and therefore the discussion of them affords abundant and unusual opportunity for the influence of surroundings and prejudices, of associations and previous education. No mind is entirely free from this influence; and therefore, without great sacrifices of personal opinion, it cannot be hoped that there ever will be in Christendom an universal agreement upon a subject so important and yet so stimulative of new speculation.

I. The first and oldest of these theories may be called the theory of Cyprian, which is admitted to have been generally held in the middle of the third century. It is the first formulated statement of the doctrine of the Apostolical succession as distinguished from the fact of the succession which was emphatically appealed to by Irenæus nearly one hundred years before. Briefly stated, and omitting the necessary coloring of Cyprian's individuality, the theory is as follows, namely; The Incarnation is the foundation and the interpretation of the nature and the object of Christianity. The lesson of the Incarnation is the exercise and the conveyance of Divine supernatural authority

¹ It should be remembered in the discussion of all constitutional and doctrinal questions that the first generation of Christians had no *theory* or *philosophy* of Christianity. The *facts* of CHRIST's Incarnation, Life, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension were enough for them. Therefore, in going to the earliest records in order to formulate a theory, we can choose either the theory which the Universal Church of the second and third generations drew from those facts, or else the theory which some modern scholar has invented. This consideration is more important when we remember that these Christians had no book called the New Testament to appeal to, that volume having been collected and the canon fixed not before the fourth century.

through and by means of human and material instrumentalities. The Church or Kingdom of CHRIST is the extension of the Incarnation in a vast sacramental system, wherein men are trained and prepared through the free development of their faculties for their salvation in body and soul in His everlasting Kingdom. This is S. Paul's argument in the Epistle to the Ephesians [ch. 4]. The delegated authority which our LORD Himself exercised as man on earth [cf. Luke v. 18] was by Him delegated in turn to His Apostles, "As My FATHER hath sent me, even so send I you." That ordinary official authority the Apostles exercised in their lifetime and transmitted to other men who succeeded them. James at Jerusalem, Timothy and Titus, and perhaps the "Angels of the Seven Churches" are examples of this succession. It is certainly neither impossible nor improbable that the name "Apostle" was gradually reserved for the "witnesses to the resurrection," and that the old Gentile designation "Bishop," was given to their successors in office. The collective Episcopate, thus originating, is the centre of the governing authority in the Church as against the later individualism of the Papacy and of the Protestant sects.

This theory of the ministry fits in with every fragment of early Christian literature; it satisfies the demands of the Incarnation as a supernatural revelation; it was the universal belief of the Church in her best age. It makes a philosophy of Christianity intelligible and consistent. The objections to it are: (1) That it is comparatively late. It was not formulated — at least the literature remaining to us does not formulate it — until the middle of the third century. To this it is replied that in this respect it is far earlier than the doctrine of the Trinity, which was not formulated for a hundred years afterward. (2) That it is sacerdotal; but this depends on what is meant by sacerdotal. If sacerdotalism is identified with the Hildebrandine conception of a separate caste of Priests and rulers in the Church, then it is not sacerdotal. The theory is quite consistent with the representative character of the Priesthood; indeed, it insists upon the fact that the Priesthood of the laity is impossible without the Priesthood of the clergy. (3) The third objection is that it "unchurches" other Christians, but this is a mistake. It unchurches not other Christians, but other Christian societies. It presumes not to judge men; but it has a right to judge systems and organizations, and that without

just charge of narrowness or uncharitableness. (4) The final objection is that the theory is too simple. It is a plain expansion and application of the idea of the Incarnation, and affords too little opportunity for the exercise of metaphysical subtlety and discrimination. Yet the Incarnation itself is simple enough for the unlearned to realize, though it be too deep for the wisest to explore.

This is an imperfect outline of the first and oldest theory of the Christian ministry. It is referred to in order to clear the ground.

II. The second theory is the theory of the Continental Reformation. It has had many phases of development, and is too shifting to be easily formulated. It began with John Calvin, who, though a mere layman, undertook to preside over and to organize a Christian Church. He said, —

These worthy men tell us that no molestation must be given to the successors of the Apostles. But a knowledge of the fact is to be ascertained by a discussion of doctrine.

Prophets were raised up by the extraordinary inspiration of GOD. . . . What is said in Ezekiel and Jeremiah belongs to us not less than to the ancient people, — that God, to punish the iniquity of evil shepherds, will drive them away, and give good and faithful shepherds. For although God daily gives such by the calling of men, yet there is a singular species of giving, when the work of man ceases, and He Himself appoints those whom He sees to be necessary, though human judgments pass them by [*True Method*, pp. 297-298].

That our discipline is not such as the Ancient Church professed, we do not deny [*Reply to Sadolet*, p. 39].

The succession which they so haughtily arrogate to themselves, I have already rescued from them [*True Method*, p. 247].

Thus Calvin by "special inspiration" became a "steward of the mysteries of GOD." By ability and force of character he established the "Presbytery" and "the holy discipline" at Geneva, denying the validity of "prelatic" ordination; and this new government was introduced into England by the Puritans. Gradually, however, men saw that the essential point in this position was the assertion of the right of any man who felt the inward call, to minister in the congregation, irrespective of outward ordination, and that Calvin had no authority to fasten upon the Church a particular mode of government. Little by little the

notion of any necessary fixed form of ecclesiastical organization faded away. Logically, the congregational theory had to be accepted; namely, no form of Church government can be said to have had the Divine sanction. Ministers are servants authorized by the congregation for convenience and order. They have no ordinary authority as distinct from laymen. The organization of the Church was completed by the Apostles, perhaps by S. John, as a matter of necessity, and they adopted the form which appeared most natural and effective to check the divisions and oppositions of the time. After all, it was only the Apostles who did it, not CHRIST; and their acts are not binding upon us. Besides, there is no formal ordinance extant which was issued by the Apostles on this subject. The true succession in the Church is the succession of sound doctrine; and the real authority of the minister is in the consciousness of his inward call and his appointment by the congregation.

There is a breadth and freedom and a certain consistency about this theory which attract many minds; but it repels others who fear that it ignores facts, and does not guard nor realize the Incarnation and the Sacraments. Calvin justified the theory on the ground that his doctrine was so pure that an extraordinary call was needed to preserve it; and multitudes now, suspecting that Calvin's presentation of the Gospel was not so pure after all, begin to question whether his "specially inspired" interruption of the ancient order must not fall to the ground with his doctrine.

III. Besides these two theories of the ministry, there is a third theory different from either, which has been advocated with great ability and learning by the late Bishop of Durham. It originated evidently from a keen desire to reconcile contending parties, and to commit the Church to no position which could not be fully justified by a close, cautious, and even sceptical investigation of the facts. Bishop Lightfoot's conception of the origin of the Episcopate differs from both the others mainly in this, that it is the result of an honest effort to reconcile all differences by the sympathetic admission of whatever can be said on the other side; and without prejudice, without any preconceived notions, to go back to the ascertained facts of early Christian history and make a guarded induction from them. The importance of such an investigation by such a scholar can

hardly be over-estimated, for facts are the bone and sinew of any true philosophy, and what he gives us, though it be but a bare skeleton, will indicate the true form and nature. Yet it is easy to see that such an attempt to solve the problem of the origin of the Christian ministry will by many be misunderstood. To refer again to the doctrine of the Trinity, any scholar who should undertake to trace the growth of the philosophical statement of this doctrine up to its completion in the fourth century, with a sympathetic account of some of the crude statements of the earlier Fathers, would lay himself open to the charge of not believing in it himself, although he firmly held in his own mind the doctrine, the history of which in the interests of scholarship he had tried to analyze. This is eminently true of Bishop Lightfoot's account of the Christian ministry. Compared with the ordinary statement of the Apostolical succession, it seems at first to be against it. Compared with the ordinary congregational theory, it contradicts it at many points. It is certainly not inconsistent with the strongest churchmanship; and to say this is to say everything, for it does not purport to be a statement of the doctrine of the ministry so much as a scholar's investigation of the facts upon which that doctrine is to be based.

At the outset, he pricks the bubble of "no authorized ministry," and says, —

The Church could not fulfil the purpose for which she exists without rulers and teachers, without an order of men who may in some sense be designated a Priesthood [*Essay on C. M.*, p. 6.]

The real Episcopate of Timothy and Titus is asserted as something not to be questioned: —

The position of these Apostolic delegates fairly represents the functions of the Bishop early in the second century [p. 36].

Of S. James, he says, —

It seems vain to deny with Rothe that the position of S. James in the Mother Church furnished the precedent and the pattern of the later Episcopate.

More than once he insists upon the fact that the Episcopate was established by the Apostles, saying, for example, that "its prevalence cannot be dissociated from their influence or their sanction" [p. 81].

He therefore strongly urges the weight of this authority; for example,—

The Priest may be defined as one who represents God to man and man to God. It is moreover indispensable that he should be called by GOD, for no man 'taketh this honor to himself.' The Christian ministry satisfies both these conditions. Of the fulfilment of the latter, the only evidence within our cognizance is the fact that the minister is *called according to a Divinely appointed order*. If the preceding investigation be substantially correct, the threefold ministry can be traced to Apostolic direction; and short of an express statement, we *can possess no better assurance of a Divine appointment or at least a Divine sanction* [p. 144].

His exhaustive summary of the evidence for the widespread prevalence of the Episcopal government as early as 112 A. D. is given in the first volume of his *Apostolic Fathers*. He calls attention to the fact that Ignatius claims to get his exalted conception of the Episcopal office not from man, but from GOD [p. 376], and says,—

If the evidence on which its extension in the regions east of the Ægean at this epoch be resisted, I am at a loss to understand what single fact relating to the history of the Christian Church during the first half of the second century can be regarded as established, for the testimony in favor of this spread of the Episcopate is more abundant and more varied than for any other institution or event during this period, so far as I recollect [p. 377].

His treatment of the testimony of Irenæus is complete and unanswerable. He dwells upon the fact that Irenæus was the disciple of Polycarp and Polycarp of S. John.

Irenæus was probably the most learned Christian of his time. He had travelled far and wide. . . . He was in constant communication with foreign Churches on various subjects of ecclesiastical and theological interest. . . . *The Episcopate as distinct from the Presbyterate is the only Episcopate which comes within the range, not only of his personal acquaintance, but even of his intellectual and historical cognizance.* . . . To this Father it is an undisputed fact that the Bishops of his own age traced their succession back in an unbroken line to men appointed to the Episcopate by the Apostles themselves [p. 378].

Here, then, we have Bishop Lightfoot's strong assertion that from the most cautious review of all the evidence it is clear that the succession of the Episcopal authority from the Apostles was

regarded as an undisputed fact in the second century, and his own conviction that the threefold ministry was established by Apostolic direction and is therefore to be regarded as "by Divine appointment, or at least by Divine sanction." What more can be asked? Upon what grounds has Bishop Lightfoot been quoted as in favor of the Presbyterian or Congregational theory of Church government? Controversialists seem to forget that the only real difference between Bishop Lightfoot's theory and the old theory of the Apostolical succession lies in the method used to reach the results and in his two points of variance as to the manner of the historical development. Those two points are well known; namely: (1) The Bishop says that the sacerdotal theory of the ministry does not appear until Cyprian, although the germs are found in the second century. He devotes a large portion of his essay to showing the development of the conception,—from Ignatius, who regarded the Episcopate as the centre of unity, to Irenaeus, who appealed to it as the depositary of Apostolic tradition, and thence to Cyprian, who makes the Bishop the "absolute Vicegerent of CHRIST." This he calls "sacerdotalism" in the popular acceptance of the term,—sacerdotalism in which "the Bishop is regarded as exclusively the representative of GOD to the congregation, and hardly if at all as the representative of the congregation before GOD;" and "from being the act of the whole congregation, the sacrifice came to be regarded as the act of the minister who officiated on its behalf" [p. 138]. Such sacerdotalism appears in the later developed doctrine of Apostolical succession, and is not found in the earliest period. Clement of Rome, for example, in the first century, insists, Bishop Lightfoot says, upon the "Divinely appointed order," and not on any sacerdotal consecration. Bishop Lightfoot does admit a real "sacerdotalism," but it is that sacerdotalism which the Church of England has put into her Prayer-Book, and which is "in some sense involved in the appointment of a special ministry" [p. 112]. But the admission of this "special ministry" and "Divinely appointed order" is a gulf of variance from that individualism which protests against any authorized ministry and denounces as Romanism any theory of Church government which places in the hands of the rulers the perpetuation of the ministerial office. (2) The other peculiarity of Bishop Lightfoot's position which has led to misconception

is his conjecture that the Bishops were not at the outset appointed by the Apostles to succeed them and originally placed over the council or college of Presbyters; but that the Episcopate was a "legitimate development" from the Presbyterate, immediately due to the felt necessity of unifying Christians and checking divisions. This development, however, was, in his opinion, by and with the sanction and direction of the Apostles; and "its maturer forms are seen first in those regions where the latest surviving Apostles (more especially S. John) fixed their abode" [p. 81]. Bishop Lightfoot believed that GOD's creation of protoplasm was GOD's creation of life, and if the Episcopate was, under Apostolic direction, the "legitimate development" out of the Presbyterate, it was CHRIST'S work just as really as the Creator of the germ is the Creator of the universe. To his mind the outpouring of the SPIRIT at Pentecost was real, and the Apostles "had the mind of CHRIST" in the upbuilding of His Church. Yet willing as a scholar to make every concession, he placed the Episcopate after the Presbyterate in order of time, and thus satisfied the objection as to the persistent application of the name "presbyter" to Bishops, and tried to show that the later sacerdotalism which we have referred to was not necessary to a loyal belief in the Divine claims of the Episcopate, the Priest having no authority and no priestly character to which "every individual Christian is not at least potentially entitled."

After all, we may ask ourselves what is the essential difference between the two positions. In one case we suppose that the Apostles, inspired and commissioned to organize the Church, appointed Presbyters to succeed them in the exercise of their ordinary authority; in the other case we suppose that gradually, on account of pressing needs, the importance of the Episcopal office forced itself upon the minds of the Apostles, and certain Presbyters were, by their sanction and direction, raised above their fellow-Presbyters. If we believe the Apostles to have been inspired by GOD, we need not greatly distress ourselves as to the exact mental process through which this inspiration operated. What we must insist upon as the key to the whole problem is that the authority to govern the Church came from above, from CHRIST, not from below, from the people.

And so long as we hold to the reality of the Incarnation, to the authority and Divine constitution of the Church, to the

reality and efficacy of the Sacraments, we may safely differ as to the exact manner in which that form of the ministry arose in the first age,— a form which, whatever else may be said about it, has certainly, to quote Bishop Lightfoot's words, "been handed down from Apostolic times, and may well be presumed to have a Divine sanction."

Bishop Lightfoot has himself recognized in the prefaces to more recent works the unfairness with which his "Essay" has been interpreted; for example (Ignatian Epistles), —

While disclaiming any change in my opinions, I desire equally to disclaim the representations of those opinions which have been put forward in some quarters. The object of the essay was an investigation into the origin of the Christian ministry. The result has been a confirmation of the statement in the English Ordinal: 'It is evident unto all men diligently reading the Holy Scriptures and ancient authors that from the Apostles' time there have been three Orders of ministers in CHRIST's Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.' But I was scrupulously anxious not to overstate the evidence, in any case; and it would seem that partial and qualifying statements, prompted by this anxiety, have assumed undue proportions in the minds of some readers, who have emphasized them to the neglect of the general drift of the essay.

J. B. D.

September 9, 1886.

The following correspondence, which appeared in the *Church Guardian* of Montreal and was republished in the *Living Church*, explains itself: —

LOCKEPORT, N. S. March 1, 1887.

To the Editor of the Church Guardian:

SIR,— Having been shown a speech by a Presbyterian minister in which he claimed that Doctor Lightfoot, Bishop of Durham, acknowledged that Presbyterian order was the rule in Apostolic times, I wrote his Lordship and received from his chaplain the following reply, which may be of much service in refuting the views imputed to the great historian and commentator.

S. G.

AUCKLAND CASTLE.

THE REV. S. GIBBONS, SIR,— The Bishop of Durham finds to his great regret that owing to the great pressure of work by which he is surrounded, your letter respecting the Christian ministry has remained unanswered.

The Bishop desires me to say that so far from establishing as the fact that 'Presbyterianism was the first form of Church government,' his

essay goes to prove that Deacons existed before Priests, and yet no one would contend that Church government by Deacons was the 'first form,' hence the writer's argument, based on priority of time, proves too much for his taste. It is, however, generally allowed that the names *Presbuteros* and *Episcopos* in the New Testament are *sometimes* synonymous [Acts xx. 17; 1 Peter v. 1, 2; 1 Tim. iii. 1-13, where the Apostle passes at once to Deacons from *Episcopos*, Titus i. 5, 7]; but even in the times covered by the New Testament writings, we see in the lifetime of the Apostles individuals singled out to preside over certain Churches and to exercise powers of ordination, government, presidency, etc., as Titus at Crete, James at Jerusalem, Timothy at Ephesus; and though the evidence is necessarily limited, we find in Asia Minor Episcopacy pure and simple, appointed and established (no doubt by the influence of S. John) at the date of the Ignatian Epistles, and its institution can be plainly traced as far back as the closing years of the first century.

We see the threefold ministry traced to Apostolic direction, and this bears out the truth of our Prayer-Book Preface to the Ordinal, and is the belief of the Anglican community.

I regret that in a brief letter so much must be passed over and so inadequate an account be given of so interesting and absorbing a subject.

But enough has been said to prove that the Presbyterian's deduction from the Bishop of Durham's article is not justified by the facts.

Yours faithfully,

J. R. HANNER,
Chaplain.

January 20, 1887.

There is no mistaking the ecclesiastical convictions and sympathies of a man who dedicated the second edition of his life-work, as "a tribute of admiration and affection" to so stalwart a Churchman as the late Dr. H. P. Liddon of S. Paul's.

THOMAS F. GAILOR.

The Nicene Creed as the Sufficient Statement of the Christian Faith.

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THE title of this paper is the second of the four propositions submitted by the House of Bishops in 1886 "as essential to the restoration of unity among the divided branches of Christendom." So far the Historic Episcopate has been the central point in the discussion of the subject of Christian unity. This appears to be because the Historic Episcopate would call for more concessions by our non-Episcopal brethren of different Communions. Unless I have misinterpreted the many articles which it has been a privilege and pleasure to read and study, unity means to the vast majority of these writers only a unity of those bodies which, for lack of a better term, I may call non-Roman Churches. But the Bishops do not so limit their Declaration. They "affirm that the Christian unity now so earnestly desired by the memorialists can be restored *only* by the return of *all Christian Communions* to the *principles of unity* exemplified by the *undivided Catholic Church* during the first ages of its existence." These principles of unity they embody in four propositions. If these four principles were to be treated from the historical development of them solely, we should — in my opinion — reverse the order as given in the Declaration.

The body of Christian truth was given first to those who were called Apostles, the Sacraments were given by them, and the ministry ordained by them, to the faithful, and the Nicene Creed formulated and accepted prior to the final settlement of the Canon of Holy Scripture. In short, the earliest life of the Church of CHRIST was taught and nourished by personal teachers to whom a Divine trust was held to have been committed. But the Church Catholic won her way to the world's heart, led by the ministry, taught by them orally, fed sacramentally, and not as

agreeing in a confession of faith modelled on a book not then completed as to the Canon of its contents. Hence the ministry would come first in the general treatment of Christian unity, and the other articles in reverse order. The early Church came as a Divine messenger to sorrowing, sin-laden souls, and she gave that message with its teaching of the MASTER'S love and death first, then formulated her Faith and finally her sacred books. It can, then, hardly compass the idea of the Bishops' Declaration to confine the discussion to any unity of merely the other non-Roman Communions and our own. In their view unity means the unity of all the "divided branches of Christendom." Hence that unity, to be possible, must base itself on truths existing and accepted prior to any division of the East and West. The area of such a basis of unity will be therefore narrow, and hence the Bishops formulate the Declaration in only four points. These granted and acted upon, reunited Christendom may then give her answer to such questions as are truly questions of each age. But no answers to these "burning questions" will bring conviction to the thoughtful sceptic when he realizes that they, whatever such answers may be, are the replies of a yet divided Church. Is there, then, any formula of doctrine so a part of the life of the "undivided Catholic Church during the first ages of its existence" that its statements may form an adequate and hence the "sufficient statement of the Christian Faith" as a basis of doctrinal unity? The Bishops express their belief that the Nicene Creed is thus adequate, and hence sufficient.

The object to be sought would seem to be a body of doctrine about which there may be practical unanimity. Such we believe the Creed of Nicæa to be. Now, the objections to this Creed are either to its lack of completeness or its too great philosophic use of terms. But what is a creed? Is it a complete body of dogma? History does not show any such idea of a creed. The history of dogma and the history of law run parallel in this respect. In law there is a body of common-law and statute enactments in special cases. So is it in the history of dogma. There are a number of doctrines so inwrought into the life and consciousness of the Church that they are a body of common law of doctrine. Then there are the Creeds, as the Church's statute law of doctrine,—positive statements of the Faith as the *answer of the Church to the denials of heresy*. Among the unquestioned doctrines of the early Church were those of the

Inspiration of Holy Scripture, Regeneration, the Sacraments as *media* of Divine grace, the Eucharist as the great Christian pure offering or unbloody sacrifice, and the Atonement by the sacrifice of our Blessed LORD. These truths stand to the Creed very much as the idea of uniformity in Nature and the idea of cause and effect do to scientific thought. I have not herein included the doctrine of the Ministry, because it is now under discussion, though I have not the least doubt that it too belongs in the same category. It may be well to call attention here to the difference between the popular idea of the formation of a creed and the fact of history on such formation. In the popular idea a creed is the result of separate votes on the various articles. The history of the Councils shows, however, that the Creeds were simply a statement of certain dogmas as having been held by the Church "everywhere, always, and by all," and hence as dogma.

The Creed of Nicæa is then simply a set of facts witnessed to by various witnesses from widely separated regions of the world, and all the witnesses agree in the one teaching. The question at Nicæa was, What has been always and is now the teaching of the Church on the Divinity of CHRIST? The Council simply witnessed to a set of facts, but did not decree a confession of faith in the popular sense of the words. What is the truth as we have received it unchanged from Apostolic times? was the real question at Nicæa. The fact of there being such a body of continuous accepted truth was then proven by the witness of the Fathers of the Council. The continuity of truth there witnessed to gave the name of dogma, or received and accepted truth, to the science of theology as the permanent name for revealed truth as distinct from developed opinion. In my opinion this is the real reason for the Bishops naming the Nicene Creed as the doctrinal basis,—that it is in itself a statement of universally received truths as dogma, not as the result of any modern theory of development. And just here will be found to be the difficulty in its acceptance by the other Christian bodies of the non-Roman Churches. It may not be stated explicitly, but the actual obstacle to the acceptance of the Nicene Creed is in the *character* of its *contents as dogma*,—continuous and hence logically involving a continuous body holding it, and a continuous ministry teaching it as a deposit of truth handed down from Apostolic times. This idea of dogma is expressed exactly by the language of the

Fathers of the Council of Chalcedon, "This is the Faith of the Fathers. This is the Faith of the Apostles. We all assent to this. We all hold this." Again they speak of the Creed as coming from preceding Councils, as set forth "for the confirming of our Catholic and Apostolic Faith."¹

The Nicene Creed, then, seems to meet the requirements of what the Bishops term "the sufficient statement of the Christian Faith" in that it accepts Christian truth as dogma delivered in continuous line of witness at a period when there were no divisions of Christendom as an organic body. The confessions of one kind and another, valuable as they are for the history of Christian opinion, cover an area of opinion so large, crowded with philosophical issues, and about which there has never been any substantial agreement of the vast majority of Christendom, that they cannot form a basis of mutual acceptance. The Nicene Creed, on the other hand, gives the universally held dogma on the Persons of the Holy Trinity, the Church as the Body of Christ, remission of sin, and eternal life as the crown of hope. Is there any more needed to meet the practical wants of any life seeking the full enrichment of its nature in the higher spiritual work of a Christian? There are, it is true, questions that emerge in the sphere of speculative and comparative theology which the Nicene Creed does not deal with; but these are not such as touch the heart of a sin-sick humanity which longs for a positive voice that shall echo the blessing of old to every home, — Peace be to this house! In every line of scientific thought to-day there may be seen a tendency to unity and the narrowing of the area of accepted scientific truth. We are told that the Christian thought of the age needs some restatement to meet the present needs. Let us then admit this need as seen in the idea of unity and a narrowing of the area of dogma. What, then, meets this dual idea as fully as the Nicene Creed? The Bishops do not say that this Creed is the perfection of complete statement of all possible speculative teaching. They affirm it to be the sufficient, that is, adequate, statement of the Christian Faith. Adequate or sufficient for what? For the daily and practical needs of all souls striving to deepen their spiritual life, until they come to realize, at least in a measure, the strength of the glowing words of S. Paul, "For to me to live is CHRIST." But there is a deeper objection to the Nicene

¹ *Hardouini Acta Conciliorum*, tom. ii. pp. 451, 456.

Creed, perhaps, in the minds of many who are not ready to accept it. The objection is not so stated in words, but I believe it a real fact in the thought of the day. It is to the truth of the Creed as objective and therefore positive. If the Nicene Creed be accepted as dogma, objective and positive truth, it will carry with it certain obligations and be *subject to the interpretation of the day in which it was set forth*. Let us be frank with our brethren of every Christian name. Better frank, open difference than to have half-hearted acceptance, a sort of armed neutrality, or *an acceptance that explains away the Creed itself*. There is an abundance of that kind of so-called acceptance already. There is a common expression, "I am not under any obligation to do this or that, for I do not accept such a truth or statement." The true under-lying premise of this statement is this, that only is true as the person accepts it, or in other words, truth is subjective, not objective, and being subjective, is open to constant revision. If this theory be true, the Nicene Creed cannot be accepted, for it is a statement of truth as positive, objective, and hence as dogma or received truth, a deposit of the Faith. The real issue is whether Christian truth is objective and hence continuous and delivered by authority, or subjective and hence constantly subject to revision and development. If the latter, then there can be no absolute and positive truth which can be traced as held by the early Church as a deposit of Faith once for all delivered. But is not all truth objective? In no other line of thought but that of Christian truth do men accept the idea that the obligation of acceptance is based upon personal reception or rejection. In physical science, law, and medicine we admit the existence of truth utterly independent of whether men accept it or not. Do we not admit the law of gravity or the law of the circulation of the blood as objective or existent independent of its reception or rejection by any one? Equally that truth which, in religion, is to be the motive-power to higher aspiration, nobler thought, and holier living should be objective and hence positive, therefore dogma. If, then, Christian truth is a body of teaching handed down, objective and therefore dogmatic, we ought to be able to find some body of such dogma so well attested and continuous in history that it may be a basis of doctrinal unity. Such a body of truth we hold the Nicene Creed to be. The development discussed by the early Fathers as admissible is that of the *method of statement*,

defence, or explanation of already accepted dogma, not a development of the *body of dogma*. This idea of development is thus expressed by S. Vincent of Leims, "But the Church as a careful and cautious guardian of the *dogma deposited in her keeping* never changes anything, nought diminishes, adds nothing." "Finally, what else has she ever attempted by the decrees of Councils but that the *same thing* might afterward be more diligently believed which before was simply accepted?"¹ The Nicene Creed was the symbol of the Faith accepted by all parts of the Church as distinct from dogmas peculiar to any one part of the Church, — that is, as held by the vast majority of the Church as distinct from the views of any private doctor, or any school of thought in the Church, as held continuously in history as opposed to doctrine held during recent ages or for a limited period of time. A careful study of the *Commonitorium* of S. Vincent shows this, we believe, to be the true meaning of the famous "Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est."

The admission of the Nicene Creed as the sufficient statement of the Christian Faith will, we firmly believe, mean the taking of a new point of view as to the character of what is held to be essential truth, and involve the recognition of its essentiality as consisting in its being positive, objective, continuous, and hence that it is dogma, not evolved opinion, whether that evolution be in and from the consciousness of the Church as the body of the believers or an evolution from the Holy Scriptures. If, then, the Nicene Creed be thus accepted, there will logically follow the question, To whom was such a body of truth committed and by whom handed down during the period of the "undivided Catholic Church"? Here will emerge the question of the Historic Episcopate as the witness to the Faith; and the article of the Nicene Creed, "One Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church," will prove a grave question to our non-Episcopal brethren unless our Bishops are ready to interpret these words in an etymological sense rather than in the historical, which we do not suppose for a moment. If the Episcopate be, as Dr. Charles A. Briggs defines it, "the *executive head of the one Order of ministers*," then there will be no connection between the body of dogma and the witness of the Episcopate to such dogma. For in his view the Episcopate is an *office*, not

¹ *Commonitorium Vincentii Liv.* pp. 219, 220. Edition H. Hunter, S. J.

an Order. Three fourths of the Christian world has for centuries held, and still holds, that the Episcopate is an *Order, not merely an executive headship or office*, as may be seen by the Ordinals and Canons of the Greek, Roman, and Anglican Churches and the Old Catholic Church. The plain truth is that in the treatment of the Nicene Creed and its fuller discussion, it will be found that the Faith and the Episcopate are inseparably connected. And we believe that no less a conviction than that the two, Faith and Order, were thus connected underlies the statement of the Bishops' Declaration concerning the four points, "which principles [they say] we believe to be the substantial *deposit* of Christian *Faith and Order* committed by *Christ and His Apostles* to the *Church unto the end of the world*, and therefore incapable of *compromise or surrender* by those who have been *ordained to be its stewards and trustees* for the common and equal benefit of all men." This joining of Faith and Order by the Bishops is very significant of their conviction that the Episcopate is a *witness to the truth*, not merely an *executive office*. Still further is it significant that the Declaration of the Bishops passed unanimously, so far as the Journal shows. In the time at our disposal, snatched from pressing engagements, we cannot attempt to elaborate the further theological and canonical reasons for holding the Nicene Creed to be "the sufficient statement of the Christian Faith," hence we must rest the case on the four suggestions of this paper.

In our view the sufficiency of this Creed as a basis of doctrinal unity consists in its being the accepted voice of the whole body of historic Christianity, when passed, and therefore a basis for unity of all Christian bodies; in its character as positive, continuous truth, therefore dogma as opposed to modern developments, whether in the Roman or Protestant theories of development; in the narrow area of dogma to which assent is asked, thus leaving questions of speculative theology untouched; and finally in the fact that this Creed has the witness of that Historic Episcopate which appears in sixteen centuries of Canon Law as the highest Order of the ministry. Law is enacted upon the basis of the conviction of certain facts as true on the part of the sovereign body, and thus accepted by the persons for whom it was enacted. So far no Canon Law, accepted by the Church Catholic, has been found which fails to state the Episcopate as the highest Order and the ruling power, distinct

in Order from the Presbyterate and Diaconate. The Faith and Holy Order are thus historically bound together, and as such to be accepted or rejected together. This paper will perhaps sound a note of discord in the harmony of present voices attuned to the hope of unity. But in view of the Declaration of the House of Bishops, the history of our Canon Law, and the actual practice of the Anglican Church, and in view of the relation of this Church to ancient Christianity as seen in "the undivided Catholic Church," no other presentment of the case would seem to me loyal to the Church whose servant I am, or fair and just to those who cannot yet accept the "Faith and Order committed by CHRIST and His Apostles to the Church unto the end of the world." In conclusion permit me to express the earnest conviction that mutual respect for honest differences between brethren of different Christian names is better than the surrender of any truth which we hold upon such authority as that on which the Faith and Order of the undivided Catholic Church rests. Unity won by minimizing the real force and meaning of hitherto vital doctrines will be valueless to all parties now discussing Christian unity. Perhaps one of the best results of this discussion may be found to be a clearer idea of the exact reasons why unity is not a very present probability, and an opportunity of seeing with what grasp and conviction of certitude different religious bodies hold to-day what they have for the past called essential truths.

F. P. DAVENPORT.

“Three Points.”¹

An Essay. Read before the Associate Alumni of the General Theological Seminary in the Seminary Chapel, New York, May 31, 1887, by the Rev. JOHN HENRY HOPKINS, S. T. D.

FOR many years three points of importance have presented themselves to my mind with great force, in considering the relations of different parts of Christendom to one another; and yet I do not remember having ever seen that attention paid to them which they seem to me to deserve. Nor shall I be able to do them justice now. The full consideration of them would require far more of time and of books than a country parson can command, and far more of opportunity to listen than our brief annual meeting could afford. All I can do, therefore, is to set before you a few sketch-like hints, which, perhaps, some one having more leisure and learning may work up hereafter in a manner not now possible to me.

I. The first of these three points is in regard to the loss of Apostolic order in the Reformation movement on the Continent,—the chief point of organic difference between the Anglican Reformation and the others. It is commonly said that this loss was a matter of *necessity*,—that they *had* to do without Bishops on the Continent, because none of the Bishops would take part with the Reformers. The point I would make is, that historically *this is not true*. There *were* Bishops enough to have preserved the Apostolic succession for them, if they had cared to do it; and the neglect was therefore due to other causes.

The full proof of this can hardly be given without a minute search of the more diffuse records of the times; for our general

¹ These “Three Points” strike me as being of such value in themselves, as hints to historical students, that I have ventured to depart from our usual custom, and instead of confining their consideration to the members of the Associate Alumni of the General Theological Seminary, I ask for them the wider circulation of the *CHURCH REVIEW*. One who was present at the delivery of this paper, and had been for many years an able Professor of Ecclesiastical History, assured me that each of the “Three Points” was new to him. — J. H. H.

historians would hardly stop to notice facts which are not in the front rank of importance from their point of view. The facts which I shall lay before you to-day are gathered mainly from the Rev. Henry M. Baird's *History of the Rise of the Huguenots of France*, — a work in two octavo volumes, covering the history of only sixty-two years in all, and thus affording unusual room for minuteness of detail, although Mr. Baird is not a Churchman, and does not dream of making out the point of which he so unconsciously furnishes the evidence.

The two who are named first among the French Reformers, are the learned Lefèvre of Etaples and the ardent Farel. The third, he says, was Guillaume Briçonnet, Bishop of Meaux. His father had been a Cardinal, as well as Abbot of St. Germain-des-Prés and Archbishop of Rheims, and had anointed King Louis XII. at his coronation. As Cardinal, he had headed the French party in the Conclave, and in the service of his King had faced the dangers of an open quarrel with the Pope. The Cardinal was now dead, having left to Guillaume — born before his father had taken Holy Orders — a good measure of that royal favor which he had himself enjoyed. He was made Archdeacon of Rheims and of Avignon, Abbot of St. Germain-des-Prés, and lastly Bishop of Lodève and Meaux. He showed early his reforming tendencies by his efforts to make the luxurious inmates of St. Germain observe better discipline. Briçonnet was appointed Bishop of Meaux in March, 1516, and about the same time was sent by King Francis I. as special envoy to treat with the Pope. He had been at Rome on similar business in the time of King Louis XII. The knowledge thus gained of the way in which things were done at Rome, convinced him of the urgent need of reform; and he resolved to begin the work in his own Diocese.

He invited both Lefèvre and Farel to make their home at Meaux; and they came, followed soon by Michel d'Arande, Gérard Roussel, and others of the same sort. "A new era," says Baird, "now dawned upon the neglected Diocese of Meaux. Bishop Briçonnet was fully possessed by his newborn zeal. The King's mother and his only sister had honored him with a visit not long after Lefèvre's arrival, and had left him confident of their powerful support in his intended reforms. 'I assure you,' Margaret of Angoulême wrote him a month later, 'that the King and Madame are entirely decided to let it be under-

stood that the truth of GOD is not heresy.' And a few weeks later the same princely correspondent declared that her mother and brother were 'more intent than ever upon the reformation of the Church.' The effect of the new preaching at Meaux was great. The wool-carders, weavers, and fullers accepted it with delight; the day-laborers flocked from the neighborhood at harvest-time, and carried back the new enthusiasm to their secluded homes. Bishop Briçonnet himself was active in promoting the evangelical work, preaching against the most flagrant abuses, and commanding the other preachers whom he had invited. He actually said to his flock: "Even if I, your Bishop, should change my speech and teaching, beware that you change not with me!"

Under Briçonnet's protection Lefèvre made and published (in 1523) a translation of the New Testament, and then of the whole Bible, into French, which was earlier than a similar work was done in England. The Bishop freely supplied copies to those who were too poor to buy. He introduced the French Scriptures into the Churches of Meaux, where the innovation of reading the lessons in a tongue that they could understand, astounded the common people. The delighted Lefèvre writes to a distant friend: "You can scarcely imagine with what ardor GOD is moving the minds of the simple in some places to embrace His Word, since the books of the New Testament have been published in French. . . . The attempt has been made to hinder the work, under cover of the authority of Parliament; but our most generous King has become in this matter the defender of CHRIST'S cause, declaring it to be his pleasure that his kingdom shall hear the Word of GOD freely, and without hindrance, in the language which it understands. At present, throughout our entire Diocese, on feast-days, and especially on Sundays, both the Epistle and Gospel are read to the people in the vernacular tongue, and the Parish Priest adds a word of exhortation to the Epistle or Gospel, or both, at his discretion."

All this was far stronger encouragement than the great Catholic Revival of our own day ever received from any Bishop in its earlier years. True, stern and formidable opposition soon arose. Briçonnet was cited by the Parliament of Paris to answer, in secret session, before a Commission. He was dealt with in such wise as to break his courage, and stop the public instruction of the people in the Holy Scriptures. He was ac-

quitted of all charge of heresy, indeed, though they made him pay two hundred livres as the expense of bringing to trial the heretics whom he had helped to make. A man converted in that way is very likely to be "of the same opinion still."

But Brignonnet was not the only Bishop who sympathized with reform. He was a noble as well as a Bishop; but the same side was to be taken by one nobler than he, and higher both in Church and State. This was Odet de Coligny, the elder brother of the Admiral Coligny and of D'Andelot, of the blood royal, who was created Cardinal of Châtillon at the early age of *thirteen*, and afterward Archbishop of Toulouse, and Bishop and Count of Beauvais. He was at first a devout Romanist, but early showed sympathies with the Reformation, and ended by going over to it altogether. As early as 1551 he was pretty well known to be in sympathy with the "Lutherans." In Easter week, 1561, there were outbreaks of violence against the Protestants in many parts of France, one of the most noted of which was at Beauvais, Châtillon's own cathedral. He had openly fostered the preachers of reform in his Diocese. "But," says Baird, "even the personal popularity of the brother of Coligny and D'Andelot could not, in the present instance, secure immunity for the preachers who proclaimed the Gospel under his auspices. Incited by the Priesthood, the people overleaped all the bounds within which they had hitherto restrained themselves. The occasion was a rumor spread abroad, that the Cardinal, instead of attending the public celebration of the Mass in his Cathedral Church, had, with his domestics, participated in a private communion in his own palace, and that every communicant had, at the hands of the Abbé Boutillier, received *both* elements 'after the fashion of Geneva.' Hereupon the mob, gathering in great force, assailed a private house in which there lived a Priest accused of teaching the children the doctrines of religion from the reformed catechisms. The unhappy Adrien Fourré — such was the schoolmaster's name — was killed; and the rabble, rendered more savage through their first taste of blood, dragged his corpse to the public square, where it was burned by the hands of the city hangman. Châtillon himself incurred no little risk of meeting a similar fate. But the strength of the Episcopal palace, and the sight of their Bishop clothed in his Cardinal's costume, appeased the mob for the time; and before the morrow came, a goodly number of

the neighboring nobles had rallied for his defence." Surely, one of the most striking incidents of those strange days was to see a Roman Cardinal receiving the Huguenot Communion, and afterward masquerading in his Cardinal's vestments to prevent his being torn in pieces by the rabble of his own people for the act!

Again, in the preparations for the famous Colloquy of Poissy, in the same year, 1561, when the assembled Bishops were about to join in the Holy Eucharist, we read that "Cardinal Châtillon and *two other Bishops* insisted upon communicating under both forms; and when their demand was refused, they went to another Church, and celebrated the Divine Ordinance with many of the nobility, all partaking both of the bread and of the wine, thus earning for themselves the nickname of Protestants."

Two years later, 1563, Pope Pius IV. issued a bull, calling for summary proceedings against sundry French Bishops, Cardinal Châtillon being at the head of the list, followed by seven others; but as he was rash enough to insert the Queen of Navarre also, the French Court made such a vigorous response that the bull was either recalled or dropped, and the proceedings against the Bishops were indefinitely suspended.

In the year 1565, the Pope's new Nuncio demanded that the red cap should be taken from the Cardinal of Châtillon. But the latter, who chanced to be at court, replied that "what he enjoyed, he enjoyed by gift of the crown of France, with which the Pope had nothing to do." And his uncle, the old Constable, was even more emphatic. "The Pope," said he, "has often troubled the quiet of this realm, but I trust he shall not be able to trouble it at this time. I am myself a Papist; but if the Pope and his ministers go about again to disturb the kingdom, *my sword shall be Huguenot*. My nephew shall give up neither cap nor dignity which he has, for the Pope, seeing the King's edict gives him liberty to keep them."

Three years later, 1568, it seems that Cardinal Châtillon had been excommunicated by the Pope, condemned of schism, and was dead in the eyes of the law,—as laid down by the Pope,—and Catherine de Medici had promised to surrender him into the Pope's hands. Châtillon had come to court, under the King's safe-conduct, to treat of peace after the second civil war. Cardinal Santa Croce, the Nuncio, entering the council-chamber, boldly demanded the performance of Catherine's promise

then and there. Catherine did not deny the promise, but said that this was an unsuitable time for its fulfilment, owing to the King's safe-conduct. To this the Nuncio replied that no respect ought to be had toward Châtillon, for he was an "excommunicate person," condemned of schism, and dead in the eyes of the law. At this point the Duke de Montmorency broke out: "Madame," he said, "is it possible that the Cardinal Châtillon's delivery should come in question, being warranted by the King and your Majesty to the contrary, and I myself being made a mean therein? Wherefore this matter is odious to be talked of, and against the law of arms and all good civil policy; and I must needs repute them my enemies who go about to make me falsify my promise once made." After these plain words, Santa Croce departed, without attaining his most cruel and dishonorable request.

Later in the same year, 1568, it was in contemplation to seize Châtillon in his Episcopal palace at Beauvais. The third civil war was then raging. But he received timely warning, and escaped through Normandy to England, where Queen Elizabeth received him at court with marks of distinguished favor. She lodged him in Sion House, not far from Hampton Court, and never met him but she greeted him with a kiss; so that it was commonly said that the ambassador of Condé (then in rebellion against his King) was a much more important personage than the ambassador of the King of France. He succeeded in getting Elizabeth to send substantial help to his distressed friends in France.

In 1570, about two months after the declaration of peace, Cardinal Châtillon, who had been deprived by the Pope of his seat in the Roman Conclave, had also been declared, by the Parliament of Paris, on motion of the Cardinal of Bourbon, to have lost his Bishopric of Beauvais, on account of his rebellion and his adoption of Protestant sentiments. All such judicial proceedings had indeed been declared null and void by the terms of the royal pacification; but the Parliaments were very reluctant to yield obedience to the royal edict. The King sent orders to the first President of the Parliament to wait upon him with the records. And when, after a second summons, they were brought, the King, with his own hands, tore out and destroyed every page that contained any action against the Cardinal of Châtillon.

But we must be more brief in other cases; for these were not all. We find mention made of Michel d'Arande, who was Bishop of Saint Paul-Trois-Chateaux, in Dauphiny, and yet sympathized entirely with the Reformers, and was in confidential intercourse with them; also of Gérard Roussel, who was appointed by the Queen of Navarre to be her preacher and confessor, and rose to be Abbot of Clairac and Bishop of Oléron; yet he remained, to his death, a sincere friend of the Reformation. In his own Diocese he set the example of a faithful pastor. Even so bitter an enemy of Protestantism as Florimond de Raemond, contrasting Roussel's piety with the worldliness of the sporting French Bishops of the period, is forced to admit that "his pack of hounds was the crowd of poor men and women whom he daily fed; his horses and attendants a host of children whom he caused to be instructed in letters." Another prelate is mentioned, the Bishop of Senlis, as being so much in favor with the Queen of Navarre that he translated into French for her the book of "Hours," omitting all that most directly countenanced superstition. We read also of Cardinal Sadolet, Bishop of Carpentras, who readily certified to the falsity of the charges made against the Waldenses, exerted his influence with the Vice-legate to induce him to abandon an attack on one of their villages, and assured the inhabitants that he firmly intended, in a coming visit to Rome, to secure the reformation of some incontestable abuses.

Another prelate we read of, Châtellain, Bishop of Macon, who was at one time favorable to the Reformation, though his courage was not equal to his convictions.

Much better known, however, was Montluc, Bishop of Valence, who in 1560, when the Huguenots petitioned for liberty of worship, was their warmest and most uncompromising advocate. He "drew a startling contrast between the means that had been taken to propagate the new doctrines, and those by which the attempt had been made to eradicate them. For thirty years, three or four hundred ministers of irreproachable morals, indomitable courage, and notable diligence in the study of the Holy Scriptures, had been attracting disciples by the sweet name of JESUS continually upon their lips, and had easily gained over a people that were as sheep without a shepherd. Meanwhile, Popes had been engrossed in war, and in sowing discord between princes; the ministers of justice had made use

of the severe enactments of the Kings against heresy, to enrich themselves and their friends; and Bishops, instead of showing solicitude for their flocks, had sought only to preserve their revenues. Forty Bishops might have been seen at one time congregated at Paris, and indulging in scandalous excesses, while the fire was kindling in their Dioceses. The inferior clergy, who bought their curacies at Rome, added ignorance to avarice. The ecclesiastical office became odious and contemptible, when prelates conferred benefices on their barbers, cooks, and footmen. What must be done to avert the just anger of GOD? Let the King, in the first place, see that GOD's name be no longer blasphemed as heretofore. Let GOD's Word be published and expounded. Let there be daily sermons in the palace, to stop the mouths of those who assert that, near the King, GOD is never spoken of. Let the singing of psalms take the place of the foolish songs sung by the maids of the queens; for to prohibit the singing of psalms, which the Fathers extol, would be to give the seditious a good pretext for saying that the war was waged, not against men, but against GOD, inasmuch as the publication and the hearing of His praises were not tolerated. . . . As to punishments, while the seditious, who took up arms under color of religion, ought to be repressed, experience had taught how unavailing was the persecution of those who embraced their views from conscientious motives, and history showed that three hundred and eighteen Bishops at the Council of Nice, one hundred and fifty at Constantinople, and six hundred and thirty at Chalcedon, refused to employ other weapons, against the worst of convicted heretics, than the Word of GOD."

This eloquent and bold harangue of the Bishop of Valence was followed, in the same discussion, by one still more cogent, from the aged and virtuous Marillac, Archbishop of Vienne. He urged "that it was in vain to expect a General Council, since, between the Pope, the Emperor, the Kings, and the Lutherans, the right time, place, and method of holding it could never be agreed upon by all; and France was like a man desperately ill, whose fever admitted of no such a delay as that a physician might be called in from a distance. Hence, the usual resort to a National Council, in spite of the Pope's discontent, was imperative. *France could not afford to die in order to please his Holiness.* Meanwhile, the prelates must be obliged to reside in

their Dioceses, nor must the Italians — those leeches that absorbed one third of all the benefices and an infinite number of pensions — be exempted from the operation of the general rule. Would paid troops be permitted thus to absent themselves from their posts in the hour of danger? Simony must be abolished at once, as a token of sincerity in the desire to reform the Church. Otherwise CHRIST would come down and drive His unworthy servants from His Church, as He once drove the money-changers from the temple. Especially must Churchmen repent with fasting, and take up the Word of GOD, which is a sword, whereas at present,” said the speaker, “*we have only the scabbard, — in mitres and crosiers, in rochets and tiaras. . . .* He warned the King’s counsellors, lest the people, accustomed to have their complaints of grievances unattended to, should begin to lose the hope of relief; and lest the proverbial promptness and gentleness which the French nation had always shown in meeting the King’s necessities, should be so badly met and so frequently offended as at last to turn into rage and despair.”

Besides all these, we find Du Val, Bishop of Séez in Normandy, mentioned in the same group with Bishop Montluc of Valence, and that Abbé Boutillier who administered the Holy Communion in Genevan fashion to Cardinal Châtillon.

A very high authority gives us some other names. It is the bull of Pope Pius IV. already mentioned, in which, after Cardinal Châtillon, he adds S. Romain, the Archbishop of Aix, Montluc, Bishop of Valence, S. Gelais, Bishop of Uzès, Roussel, Bishop of Oléron, D’Albret, Bishop of Lescar, Guillart, Bishop of Chartres, and Caraccioli, Bishop of Troyes, who had resigned his Bishopric, and had been ordained a Protestant pastor, — *eight* prelates in all.

Besides all these, Jervis, in his History of the Gallican Church, gives us the names of Jacques Spifame, Bishop of Nevers, Pelissier, Bishop of Maguelonne, Etienne Poncher, Bishop of Paris and afterward Archbishop of Sens, as sympathizing with the Reform in the early period of the agitation; and Barbançon, Bishop of Pamiers, in the later.

We have now enumerated no less than *nineteen* prelates, among whom were *three* Archbishops and *two* Cardinals, who are shown to have sympathized with the Reformation; and of these, no less than *eight* are certified to us, by the Pope himself, as Protestant enough to be excommunicated. The Reformed

party, therefore, had *Bishops* enough to have kept up the Apostolic succession, *had they chosen so to do*. The plea of necessity, because they *had* no Bishops, is utterly idle. They had them, but they *would not use them*. There is not recorded, so far as I have read, the slightest desire on the part of the sympathizing Bishops to retain the ancient rights of their Order in regard to government and ordination among the Reformed, nor the slightest desire on the part of the Reformed to have them do so. All consciousness of the importance of the question of Valid Orders seems to have been so utterly lost in the fiercer controversies of the times that it never once comes to the surface. Nay, so completely was it ignored that we find one of the above Bishops, and he an Italian too, Caraccioli, after resigning his See of Troyes, letting his own triple ordination go for nothing; and he (a Bishop) accepts a new ordination as a Protestant pastor!—about the most ridiculous ordination on record.

The books at my command do not enable me to go as minutely into the state of things in Germany, although the well-known position of Hermann, Archbishop of Cologne, is an indication that Reformation sympathies were not unknown among the prelates of Germany, any more than among those of France.

Why, then, if they had Bishops enough to continue the succession, did they not do it? Many reasons, doubtless, contributed, which we cannot consider here. One, doubtless, was that in *neither* country was any one of the great leaders of the Reformation movement a Bishop; and no one who was a true popular leader in so hot a popular movement was willing to defer to the authority of any Bishop less competent than himself to lead the people. Another was the prevailing impatience of the people under undeserved and cruel persecution.

II. And this leads me to the *Second* of the Three Points I am to touch upon, which is this: In England the Reforming party, as such, never drew the sword to defend themselves from persecution. They bore the persecution patiently, so long as it pleased GOD that it should last. All the rebellions that were made in England during the Reformation period proper—except the personal movement for Lady Jane Grey—were made by the opponents of Reform. As a reward for this patience and endurance, so it would seem, the good Providence of GOD accomplished the needed Reform, without disturbing a single

foundation stone of the old Church. But in France and in Germany and in Scotland and elsewhere, impatience and persecution provoked civil war, and that of the most obstinate and hurtful kind. This caused *two* great evils. First, the religious question was tangled up and lost in the political question; and whenever they are thus tangled up, the politics of this world come out on top, and religion is sacrificed. The history of every civil war about religion will demonstrate the truth of this statement.

The other great evil is, that the going to war kills utterly all the *spiritual* fruit that otherwise would have been borne by persecution *patiently endured*. The early Church went through her ten persecutions — be they more or less — without once, even for a moment, resorting to armed defence against the most outrageous and cruel oppression. And this patient endurance — by the blessing of GOD — conquered the mighty Roman Empire. So in England, the burning of nearly two hundred of the Reformed party during the reign of Philip and Mary, *patiently endured*, turned the heart of the nation so strongly that after the accession of Elizabeth there was no serious obstacle to all the Reformation that was needed. In France, the glorious martyrdoms so bravely endured by Leclerc, Pauvan, De Berquin, Du Bourg, and innumerable others in the earlier part of the movement, produced a wonderful popular effect, which was spreading with astonishing rapidity. We read that "the curiosity to hear the preaching of the Word of GOD by men of piety and learning, the desire to hear those grand psalms of Marot solemnly chanted by the chorus of thousands of human voices, had infected every class of society. The records of the Chapters of Cathedrals, during this period of universal spiritual agitation, are little else, we are told, than a list of cases of ecclesiastical discipline instituted against chaplains, canons, and even higher dignitaries, for having attended the Huguenot services. At Rouen, the chief singer of Notre Dame acknowledged before the united Chapter that he had often been present at the 'assemblées,' — nay, more, 'that he had never heard anything there which was not good.' " Even Catherine de Medici herself, partaking of the general zeal, declared her intention to hear the Bishop of Valence preach before the young King and the Court, in the saloon of the Castle. In that same year, 1561, three weeks before the arrival

of Beza to take part in the Colloquy of Poissy, this same Catherine de Medici wrote a remarkable letter to the Pope himself. "After acquainting him with the extraordinary increase in the number of those who had forsaken the Roman Church, and with the impossibility of restoring unity by means of coercion, she declared it a special mark of Divine favor that there were among the dissidents neither Anabaptists nor Libertines, for all held the Creed as explained by the early Councils of the Church. It was consequently the conviction of many pious persons that by the concession of some points of practice the present divisions might be healed. But more frequent and peaceful conferences must be held; the ministers of religion must preach concord and charity to their flocks; and the scruples of those who still remain in the pale of the Church must be removed by the abolition of all unnecessary and objectionable practices. Images, forbidden by GOD and disapproved of by the Fathers, ought at once to be banished from public worship, baptism to be stripped of its exorcisms, communion in both kinds to be restored, the vernacular tongue to be employed in the services of the Church, and private Masses to be discountenanced." Surely a wonderful letter to be written by such a person as Catherine de Medici, and to such a person as the Pope! From it we may easily estimate the force of the current by which she was surrounded. Again and again the Court seemed on the very point of taking sides with the Reformation; but every time, the mixing up of rebellion with Protestantism spoiled the prospect. A little more of patient endurance would have won the victory, and in such a way as to retain the ancient foundations of the national Church undisturbed. A few hundreds might have been added to the roll of martyrs in the mean time; but what was that compared to the tens of thousands that perished in the civil wars and massacres? Baird — as is to be expected — defends the Huguenots in their taking up arms. "Candidly viewing their circumstances at the distance of three centuries," he says, "we can scarcely see how they could have acted otherwise than as they did." Yet they had endured persecution for only about one generation, while the early Church endured it for nearly three hundred years. Even Baird, however, is compelled to admit that what he considers justifiable was actually destructive. And his language is so complete a demonstration of the truth, and so

overwhelming a condemnation of those impatient Huguenots whom he defends, that we give it in full: —

War is a horrible remedy at any time. Civil war superadds a thousand horrors of its own. And a civil war waged in the name of religion is the most frightful of all. The holiest of causes is sure to be embraced from impure motives by a host of unprincipled men, determined in their choice of party only by the hope of personal gain, the lust of power, or the thirst for revenge, — a class of auxiliaries too powerful and important to be altogether rejected in an hour when the issues of life or death are pending, even if, by the closest and calmest scrutiny, they could be thoroughly weeded out, a process beyond the power of mortal man at any time, much more in the midst of the tumult and confusion of war. The Huguenots had made the attempt at Orleans, and had not shrunk from inflicting the severest punishments, even to death, for the commission of theft and other heinous crimes. They had endeavored in their camp to realize the model of an exemplary Christian community. But they had failed, because there were with them those who, neither in peace nor in war, could bring themselves to give to so strict a moral code any other obedience than that which fear exacts. Such was the misery of war; such the melancholy alternative to which, more than once, the Reformed saw themselves reduced, of perishing by persecution or of saving themselves by exposing their faith to reproach through alliance with men of as little religion or morality as any in the opposite camp.

And Baird goes on to state the full consequence of this terrible blunder of his friends, which, nevertheless, he attempts to justify. He says, —

The first Civil War prevented France from becoming a Huguenot country. [He forgets that he had just said that they were in danger of "perishing by persecution." They were in no danger of the sort. They were *growing* by persecution faster than they could ever grow by civil war. Nay, if persecution had not already made them so strong, they would not have thought it right to resort to civil war at all. But as to the fact that the outbreak of war destroyed the possibility of a reformation of the entire kingdom of France, he adds:] This was the deliberate conclusion of a Venetian ambassador, who enjoyed remarkable opportunities for observing the history of his times. The practice of the Christian virtue of patience and submission under suffering and insult, had made the Reformers an incredible number of friends. The waging of war, even in self-defence, and the reported acts of wanton destruction, of cruelty and sacrilege, — it mattered little whether they were true or false, they were equally credited, and produced the same results, — turned the indifference of the masses into positive aversion. It availed the Huguenots

little, in the estimate of the people, that the crimes that were almost the rule with their opponents were the exception with them ; that for a dozen such as Montluc, *they* were cursed with but *one* Baron des Adrets ; that the barbarities of the former received the approbation of the Roman Catholic Priesthood, while those of the latter were censured with vehemence by the Protestant ministers. Partisan spirit refused to hold the scales of justice with equal hand, and could see no proofs of superior morality or devotion in the adherents of the Reformed faith.

The same evil consequences, only to a far greater extent, followed the terrible Thirty Years' War in Germany, — probably the most horrible civil war that has ever cursed any Christian country. And the same cause produced the same effects. It was not because the Reformed had no sympathizers among the Bishops, but because they were too impatient of persecution to be willing to wait until the LORD'S work should be done in the LORD'S way. And the same impatience — not *necessity*, by any means — led them to throw overboard the ancient authority of Bishops in the Church of GOD and originate a new ministry of their own.

Now we have seen, in our own day, though after a much milder fashion, the operation of the same general principles. The great Catholic Revival of the past half-century is one of the most wonderful that the Church has seen in any age or in any land. One great object of it was to revive the true doctrine that Bishops are in the Church by *Divine* right, and that the powers given to them by CHRIST and the HOLY GHOST cannot be taken away by any merely human authority. Yet at the beginning the entire Anglican Episcopate — with much fewer exceptions than we have found in France — was *opposed* to the Revival. Many were discouraged by this, lost heart, and left us. But a little reflection ought to have satisfied them. The primary instinct of the Episcopal Order is, and rightly, to hand things down to their successors exactly as they themselves received them. When, therefore, after the lapse of ages, the Church has gradually accumulated errors in certain directions, and the spirit of Reform is sent forth by the HOLY GHOST, that Reform must *always* expect to find the Episcopate, as a body, *opposed* to it. The Bishops, as a body, are rather more elderly men than the average of the rest of the clergy. They represent the age that is just ending, rather than that which is just beginning. And with their primary instinct of keeping things un-

changed, they oppose every improvement as an innovation. This feeling of the Bishops was almost unbroken for a quarter of a century after our Catholic Revival began; and even, now, when it is more than half a century old, a faithful and devoted Priest in Liverpool, the Rev. J. Bell-Cox, has lately been sent to prison by a Bishop — a Low Church Bishop, his *own* Bishop — for his fidelity to that great Revival; he being the *fifth* Priest who has cheerfully gone to jail in the same great cause. In all these fifty years and more, all the persecution that could be brought to bear on the Catholic Reformers has been cheerfully borne, with *no* attempt to retaliate, or secede, or form a sect, or usurp the canonical authority of the Bishops. Yet all the while, preaching and teaching and writing and ritual and organizations for work among the poor, and the revival of the Religious Orders, and much more, have gone on with unflinching energy and courage, until at length we have fairly conquered the decided majority of the Anglican Episcopate itself. And that Episcopate is now about as unanimous in commanding the great Catholic Revival as they were forty years ago in condemning it. When one has mastered the *theory* that the Bishops will certainly, for at least a generation or two, oppose any and every attempt at Reformation, from within and from below, he will be less likely to lose heart and courage when he finds that the theory is borne out by the *facts*. And it is well that it is so. If changes could be brought about too easily, we should lose all stability, — there would be nothing but change; whereas now, when a change for the better has been slowly and painfully accomplished, it is a satisfaction to know that it will *last*. Moreover, when a movement is really begun by GOD the HOLY GHOST, and is carried on with equal courage and *patience*, there is no danger that any opposition by the Bishops of the day will ever be able to put it down, no matter how hard they may try. In a generation or two, the Reform will be represented and maintained by the Bishops themselves. Let patience therefore have her perfect work. With heavenly patience, the new life is like leaven, that spreads its influence from soul to soul until the whole Church is leavened. With *impatience* and Civil War, that new life becomes rather like the destructive forces of Nature, by which the solid mountain is rent into two opposing cliffs, which frown defiance on each other forever, and unite no more.

III. I have left myself but little time for the *Third Point*, which is not so closely connected with the other two, but which, I hope, may be helpful to some minds.

When a metal bar freely suspended is rubbed so as to develop positive electricity at one end, it is always found that the same action has at the same time spontaneously developed an equal amount of negative electricity at the other end. The amount of electricity produced may thus be tested, with equal correctness, from the negative end as well as from the positive.

Now this third point is simply to compare the great Communions of Christendom *by their failures*. We are all familiar with the *positive* comparisons, — so familiar that sometimes the very familiarity makes us suspect that there must be some undiscovered fallacy about them. Let us, then, try the negative, for once.

But you may say, What do you mean by the negative? I will explain. Let us look at the three great Communions of Christendom, — the Roman, the Oriental, and the Anglican. So long as we are divided, no one of us has any authority from GOD to claim that we are *entirely* right in all points of difference, and that the others are *entirely* wrong. We *must* be, all of us, right in some things and wrong in other things. And in so far as we are wrong, we shall have our *failures*, as well as our successes. Now I propose to compare *our failures*. And — as we ought to do — let us begin with ourselves first.

Our failures, then, may briefly be described as the English-speaking Protestant denominations, so far as they have sprung out of the English Church. As for those which have sprung directly from the various Reformed bodies on the Continent of Europe, of course the Church of England is not responsible for *them*. All these denominations are without the Historic Episcopate; and this points to a great fault in the English Church, largely owing — as are most of her faults — to her union with the State. At the time of the Reformation, Cranmer earnestly desired to increase the number of Episcopal Sees in England from twenty-three to *forty*; and King Henry VIII. gave him reason to hope that it should be done with endowments from the Church property taken by the Crown. But instead of that, only six new Sees were erected, — one of which soon ceased to exist; and there the increase stuck for three hundred years. If that proposed enlargement had then been made, it is highly

probable that dissent from the Church of England would never have amounted to much. But when — with the steadily growing population — there was *no* growth in the Episcopate; when the time and attention of Bishops were absorbed to a large degree by their duties in Parliament; when their spiritual duties were more and more neglected, visitations being made only once in from three to seven years, and in some cases not at all; when the children from three, four, or five parishes were gotten together for Confirmation in one large Church, and the Bishop never visited the others at all, — what could be expected but that a type of earnest piety should largely prevail from which Bishops were entirely left out?

Then, again, in her Catechism, the Church of England has taught nothing about Confirmation or Holy Orders, or the organization of the Catholic Church, *not one word!* What wonder, then, that some of her people should easily come to think that Confirmation is of no great use, and that one kind of minister of the Gospel is just about as good as another, and that any and every sect is a Church? Other faults might be mentioned also, especially the suspension of the synodical action of the Church for nearly one hundred and fifty years. But no matter how great the evils of these divisions and losses, with all their controversies and jealousies, thus much must be allowed: On the whole, and with few exceptions, these denominations all accept the Bible, and use it in the version given them by the Church; they all profess to accept the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds; they all claim to keep up the ministration of the two great Sacraments; their Baptism is almost universally a valid Baptism; they are earnest and zealous in a great variety of good works, and not unfrequently, in liberality and zeal, they set *us* an example which we should do well to follow. They are, on the whole, a *very respectable set of failures*. And the separation from us is not so wide or so deep as in any of the other cases we shall mention; while the general confession of the evil of the disunion is more outspoken and sincere, and the prospect of final reunion far more promising, than we shall find anywhere else in Christendom.

Let us next look at the Oriental Church. Her great failure is Mohammedanism, — a far worse and more destructive failure than ours; for Mohammedanism is rather a heresy arising out of Christianity, than an original and separate religion. It in-

cludes a recognition of both the Old Testament and the New,—of Abraham and Moses and CHRIST. The faults that provoked this terrible reaction were rather the faults of the decaying and slavish absolutism of the old Pagan Roman Empire, which Christianity could not save; together with the picture-worship and saint-worship which grew naturally out of the other, aggravated by the irrepressible dialectics of the Greek mind in defining and over-defining the nature and relations of the Persons of the Blessed Trinity. Mohammed threw off Christian Baptism, and retained the old circumcision. He made one clean sweep of the Trinity and the Incarnation. He made GOD to be a simple unit, and himself to be GOD's greatest and final Prophet, and the sword to be the chief propagator of his religion. The later organization of the Janissaries is a horrible travesty worthy of the Devil himself. The Turks levied a tribute on the Christians of *children*,—baptized Christian children,—who were violently taken from their parents before they were old enough to understand the truths of Christianity, and were then carefully trained up as Moslems, and were sworn to fight—as their life-work—that very religion into which they had been baptized in infancy. No wonder that such a weapon became ultimately intolerable even to the sultan who wielded it! There can be no question that Mohammedanism—the great failure of the Oriental Church—is incomparably worse than ours.

But the Church of Rome affords a failure far beyond either of us. As she has carried her practical corruptions, her additions to the Faith, and her passion for *absolutism* both in Church and State, to such tremendous lengths, so in the intensity of atheistic continental communism she has developed a failure incomparably worse than even Mohammedanism, and beside which our Evangelical Protestant denominations appear like positive blessings! The horrors of the first French Revolution were bad enough. The Commune of Paris has shown that it would improve on the old horrors, with greater ones of modern invention, the moment it should have a chance. The intense hatred of everything like Christianity, or even of a belief in a GOD, is startling. Only think what the condition of a man's mind must be who deliberately shoots dead a Priest who was standing at the altar and reciting the Apostles' Creed,—his only motive being *hatred* of the Creed which the Priest was reciting! Roman repression has been manufacturing the con-

centrated oil of vitriol, which threatens to destroy everything that it can get a chance to *touch*.

The comparison of our failures, then, while it ought to teach an Anglican modesty, and a deep sense of our own shortcomings, has in it also an element of comfort and encouragement. We have not been so long on the wrong course, and have not driven our errors so deep, and have not brought forth such desperate results as the others; and therefore as to what we still have to do, we may well "thank GOD, and take courage."

JOHN HENRY HOPKINS.

The Knowledge of Religious Truth.

Studies in Hegel's Philosophy of Religion, with a Chapter on Christian Unity in America. By J. MACBRIDE STERRETT, D.D., Professor of Ethics and Apologetics in the Seabury Divinity School. New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1890.

THE following passage from the Preface will indicate the scope and purport of this admirable book, whose value will be justly appreciated by all who feel that the crying need of our time is certitude in the matter of religious faith. After remarking that any translation of Hegel's *Philosophy of Religion* "would need a further translation into expository paraphrase," the author goes on, "I therefore offer some *Studies* on parts of this great work, deeming them of value, both in themselves and in introducing readers to Hegel's own volumes. The title *Studies* is a most elastic one, bearing on its face its own apology for not being finished literary work. It signifies studying done 'out loud,' after considerable silent pondering over the 'what there is in it.' It also allows greatest freedom for new inferences and applications suggested by the text. Hence this volume is not a mere expository paraphrase of Hegel. I have adhered to the expository form only in Chapters III. and VIII. . . . The purpose of the volume throughout is apologetic. It is written with faith and in the interests of 'The Faith.' "

The first two chapters deal with Hegel in general, and his *Philosophy of Religion* in particular, with a glance at its historic antecedents. Chapter III. is a condensed summary of Hegel's introduction, giving in outline its important preliminary considerations. Our author is well aware that it is not distillation, but dilution Hegel needs, to help us grasp the full compass of his thought; and here, as in Chapter VIII., he makes the best of a difficulty which was not to be avoided. Chapters IV. and V., taking up about half the volume, exclusive of the Appendix, follow the line of thought in Hegel's Part I., which treats of the

Begriff, or essential notion of religion. This is, in a word, the organic relation of GOD and man. It may be apprehended by feeling and imagination, or by thought. The first two are the characteristic forms of the religious consciousness, the latter of speculative knowledge. Imagination is a higher form than mere feeling, but spiritual truth is not to be clearly and fully represented by its semi-sensuous conceptions,—emblematic bodies of thoughts rather than thoughts themselves. Roughly speaking, the difference between philosophy and religion is the difference between *Vorstellung* and *Begriff*, or figurate conception and pure notion.¹ The inadequacy of the form of imaginative conception to the spiritual content of religion opens the way to a critique of this content by the logical understanding. This was the work of eighteenth-century "enlightenment." At first fire is fought with fire; recourse is had to a rationalistic apologetic, and the Faith is supported by "evidences." With the inevitable failure of this false method, there is nothing left but to fall back on ecclesiastical authority. Here our author, in a short excursus [pp. 99-109], points to two causes within the Church for the prevalent scepticism of the day,—first, the arrogation of infallibility, which would silence all questioning of thought, and secondly, the practical atheism which would banish GOD from the so-called secular life of the world. It is greatly to be wished that thoughtful Christians would lay to heart these brave and honest words. The way out of the doubts and difficulties raised by the negative activity of the understanding is only through speculative thought, which resolves in its dialectic all antinomies of "faith" and "reason," and attains to the organic unity wherein is the ultimate truth, and therefore the transcendence, of that dualism which is the latent postulate of the religious consciousness. Thus Philosophy and Religion have the same content, but differ in their form. The form of speculative

¹ Dr. Stirling thus describes *Vorstellung* in its own language of illustration. He quotes from some Review the saying, "God might have thrown into space a single germ-cell, from which all that we see might have developed." His comment is that we have here *Vorstellung*, — not thought. To take all back to GOD, space and a single germ-cell, — not asking where these come from, — that is supposed to be enough for the necessities of thought. GOD, one *Vorstellung*, ready-made and complete in itself, takes up a germ-cell, another *Vorstellung*, ready-made and complete in itself, and drops it into space, a third *Vorstellung*, ready-made and complete in itself. This done, the rest, development (another *Vorstellung*) follows without more ado. In such a way one conceives himself to *think a beginning!* It is but an idle weaving of empty fancies.

thought is the content's own form, and not one foreign to it; therefore this alone is adequate to the content, and yields knowledge of religious truth. And so Hegel can say that "philosophy is nothing other than theology, since it is the object and result of philosophic science to show that GOD is the Absolute Truth in whom all things consist;" and that the *Logic*, or the science of the Absolute Idea in itself, is the demonstration of GOD as He is in His Eternal essence, or, as it were, before the creation of human spirit and the finite world.

Chapters VI. and VII. are concerned with Hegel's Part II., in which the religions of the world are classified as progressive stages in the realization of the idea of religion. In this historic process there is a twofold development, — man ever advancing to clearer consciousness of his relation to GOD, and GOD ever revealing Himself more fully in His relation to man. Yet complete consciousness of this reciprocal communion is never attained. The process is in its nature dialectical, each form in the ascending series showing itself in turn inadequate to the embodiment of the idea, which therefore is not realized in any one of them. There is no more important field of research than the religious history of mankind; and this teleological view of that history which regards it as a development according to an idea, brings the scattered phenomena of comparative religion into organic relation, and converts empiricism to science. If, however, the philosophy of religion is properly concerned with the idea and its realization, it must be said that the study of positive religions falls, strictly speaking, outside its sphere. In Chapter VIII. we have a brief résumé of Hegel's Part III., whose subject is Christianity, the absolute religion in which is the perfect realization of the idea. The main heads of its division are: (1) GOD in His Eternal being, the Trinity; (2) GOD as the eternally begotten Son, including the creation and redemption of the world; (3) GOD as the HOLY SPIRIT in the realm of reconciliation, the Church. Hegel's whole system of philosophy gathers into his doctrine of the Trinity, as the whole system of truth, or universal reality, gathers into the being of the Triune GOD. Since it implies the whole philosophy, this doctrine of the Trinity is not "de ces choses qui se disent succinctement," to quote Hegel's phrase in reply to Cousin, to which our author refers [p. 1]. This chapter touches skilfully its great theme, dwelling chiefly on the general treatment of Christianity in the

introduction to Part III., and on its third section, the Church, as "a present life in the Spirit of CHRIST."¹

It will be seen that the work before us is at once an introduction to the philosophy of religion, and in some sort an introduction to the philosophy of Hegel, since the principles, method, and spirit of the great thinker are exhibited not only in the expository chapters, III. and VIII., but equally in those that take a freer course and give us, as the author says, if not Hegel's *Philosophy of Religion*, one that is in every sense Hegelian. Our author's appreciation of Hegel is intelligent, and his general estimate as high as one could wish, yet we note a few expressions in the opening pages whose effect may be slightly misleading. We are told that the philosophy of Hegel in its own systematic form is almost extinct, but its spirit and method survive as the most potent influence in the thought of to-day. This influence is strong in Great Britain, although Hegelianism as a system is there accepted by none. Nor are there any mere disciples or blind adherents of Hegel in America, though he is recognized as great among the greatest. American students are using his method rather than accepting all his results; and while they regard his work as the latest great epoch-making contribution to philosophy, it would be unjust to characterize them as Hegelians.

Now, in the words of the sagacious Bunsby, "the bearing of these observations lies in the application on 'em." It is not impossible to reconcile them with a view of Hegel which shall do him full justice; at the same time careless readers have often needed less to send them astray. If one should gather the impression that the present generation has got beyond Hegel, and is now in a position to look back upon him as we look back upon Kant, with the comprehensive and definitive judgment of historical criticism, and having absorbed and assimilated the vital elements of his system, can now throw aside the system itself as a squeezed orange, — if one should fancy this the state of the case, he could not well make a more ludicrous mistake. So far from having passed Hegel, we are only coming in sight of him. In relation to the thought of the world, he still belongs to the future, not the past. Like all great leaders, he was the *devancier de son temps*; and he might have said with Schiller's

¹ Dr. Sterrett's Appendix on Christian Unity, a subject now under discussion in these pages, it is not my present purpose to consider.

Don Carlos, "The century admits not my ideas; I live a citizen of those that are to come." He did say, if report may be trusted, and surely with a sigh, if with a smile: "Only one man has ever understood me; and he misunderstood me." If, then, in Great Britain his system is accepted by none, that is not because reason has been shown for its rejection, nor because it has been comprehended in a higher, but simply because none have yet reached a thorough comprehension of it. Now, without the system we cannot have Hegel. He is not of those thinkers whom we can accept in part, for a "part" does not carry in itself its ultimate explanation. The secret of Hegel is the system; and the key to the system is the system itself, the organic whole, of which every part is a living member. And as the part has no being except in organic relation to the whole, so it cannot be known except in and through the knowledge of the whole. And so it is not the work of the present to advance by the help of Hegel's method to higher results than he was able to attain. No; the labor that lies before us, and not behind us, is that of fully entering into his philosophy, and making it our own. Ignorant misapprehension may deliver its precipitate judgment, but meanwhile this labor is already begun; for the widespread and growing influence of Hegel is not the wandering ghost of that which has ceased to exist, is not a fragrance from a broken vase; it is, a witness to the power of the deepest thought to compel the serious attention of the world.

As to calling one's self a Hegelian, that is a blunder no intelligent man would commit; for in so far as the term is held to signify partisan or blind adherent, it implies that Hegel was the founder of a school or sect based on some peculiar theories of his own,—a view sufficiently absurd to one who knows what his place in history really is. Philosophy is the working of the human mind through the ages toward the comprehension of itself and the universe; and its successive systems are phases of one growth toward completion. It is no achievement of individuals as such, and its history is not read in any series of biographies, for Humanity is the Philosopher. Yet the advance of human thought is led by those "world-historical" individuals to whom it is given to discern the next directly sequent step that must be taken, because in them for the time being is the mind of humanity. Now, the history of philosophy itself declares that in Hegel it has reached the last stage of its

development.¹ In other words, philosophy itself is Hegelian to-day; and so there is a sense in which no man who will think to any true purpose can help being a Hegelian, for that simply means to keep to the highroad of the race's progress and not stray off into some bypath leading to confusion.

Dr. Sterrett seems to consider that Hegel's style is a main source of his difficulty for the student. In the Preface, Principal Caird's book is praised as a "master-piece of art in translating Hegel out of the narrow, arid husk of scholastic form and prolix technicalities;" and a little further on it is added that "Hegel's own work is heavy, formal, scholastic, and removed from ordinary unscientific conceptions." One can but protest against this judgment. It is common enough to hear Hegel's writing denounced as lingo and jargon by persons whose acquaintance with it is extremely slight; yet there are those who have found it pithy and vigorous, vivid with fancy, racy with a pungent humor, rich with a quaint picturesqueness of its own, and quickened to a noble rhetoric under the inspiration of some lofty theme. It is true that in the *Logic* and wherever Hegel is following the genetic evolution of the dialectic, there is no more room for style as such than in a demonstration of Euclid; yet even here he is so close and clear, so penetrating, so exhaustive, so *inevitable*, that our natural exclamation is, How exquisite, how beautiful! As Dr. Stirling remarks: "To one who has a turn that way the delight in the successive steps and the result is no less entrancing than that experienced by Keats on first looking into Homer." As to the charge of "scholastic form" and "technicalities," I will leave the same writer to answer it: "It is one of the peculiar and admirable excellences of Hegel that his words are such that they *must* be understood as he understands them, and difference there can be none. Thought and word arise together and must be comprehended together. The very birth of the Hegelian terms is nothing but the reflection of the *differentia* into the *proximum genus*; at their very birth, then, they arise in a perfect definition. This is why we find no dictionary and little explanation of terms, for the book itself is that dictionary; and *how* each term comes, *that* is the explanation,—each comes forward as it is wanted and where it

¹ I have been tempted to make this statement good, by tracing the organic development of philosophic thought from Socrates to Hegel; but even the barest outline is beyond my limits.

is wanted, and so that it is no mere term, but the thought itself. If the words, then, were an absolutely new coinage, this would be their justification; but Hegel has carefully chosen for his terms those words which are the familiar names of the current figurate conceptions that correspond to his pure notions, and are as the metaphors of these pure notions. These terms have thus no mere arbitrary and artificial sense, but a living and natural one; and their attachment through the figurate conception to the pure notion converts an instinctive and blind into a conscious and perceptive use." So then, not to concern ourselves with the epithets "heavy," "prolix," and "arid," this reproach of formal and technical really concerns one of the great and distinguishing merits of Hegel,—the systematic terminology which enables us to follow with assured step the movement of his thought, and which makes an end of the logomachies arising from the use of a loose and fluctuating popular parlance whose precise meaning is always disputable.

And so if Hegel is difficult, the difficulty is one of substance, not of style. Professor Ferrier describes it thus: "With peaks here and there more lucent than the sun, Hegel's intervals are filled with a sea of darkness, unnavigable by any aid of compass, and an atmosphere, or rather, vacuum, in which no human intellect can breathe." Or, as Dr. Wallace puts it: "He abruptly hurls us into a world where old habits of thought fail us." In truth, we cannot find ourselves at home in that world of concrete reason while we remain prisoners of the abstract understanding, driven round in the circle of its categories. When Hegel would have us follow with our eyes the tireless shuttle of the dialectic, as it flies in and out, weaving the warp and woof of positive and negative, identity and difference, into the web of reality, we seem only to be watching the trick of a deft juggler playing fast and loose with it as it pleases him. Yet this is no empty gymnastic of subjective thought. The process of the idea through its three "moments," in which it passes from immediate unity and universality into self-opposition, wherein its essential differences are developed in apparent independence, and thence returns into itself as self-mediated unity, unity *of* its differences (that is, containing in itself all difference and negation as a constituent element of its own absolute being), this process of which each moment is virtually the whole that is found, as such, in the last moment,—this is

what *is*, this is the nature and activity of spirit, the very pulse of cosmical life, the eternal rhythm of the universe. So then, unless we can effect our escape from "old habits of thought," Hegel will forever be to us, not difficult, but absolutely unintelligible. The *sine qua non* for the student is a palingenesis of mind such as the Gospel demands of heart and will. It is with the vision of truth as with entrance into the Kingdom of GOD. Self-sacrifice is not difficult; it is easy, or it is impossible. While I am I and he is he in selfish isolation, it remains impossible; but when we gain the spirit of love and learn its secret, that only in losing ourselves we find ourselves, it becomes easy. So truth is the organic unity of all antithesis; and it is our persistence in the dualism of abstract identities that keeps the veil upon our eyes. The difficulty of Hegel, then, is first and chiefly in ourselves; and there is no way of making him easy to those who will not undergo a change of mind. Any translation of Hegel out of his own form with a view to sparing us this labor will be found an evisceration of his content as well.

To waken an interest in Hegel on the part of the general public is surely a task to daunt the stoutest; and if we look for Dr. Sterrett to accomplish anything in this direction, it is with the hope too like despair for prudence to smother. As concerns religion, however, interest is already awake. Everywhere to-day we meet plain signs of an anxious eagerness to know for one's self what verification can really be found for the great postulates of the Faith. To thoughtful inquirers this book must be of inestimable service, since it opens the gates of a region where their deepest questionings find answer. It would seem, then, that it ought to receive a cordial welcome from all who have at heart the interests of Christian truth. Now, that what ought to be will be, is the conviction alike of a genuine faith and an educated reason; yet we are obliged to add, *in the long run*, and with this qualification — all history showing how long the run may be — the conviction brings after all cold comfort. It is sixty years since Hegel's *Philosophy of Religion* was assailed by the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* and by Neander himself almost as vigorously as by Daumer and Frauenstädt, Feuerbach and Strauss, the children of the *Aufklärung*. A philosophy of religion appeared equally obnoxious to anti-religious and to anti-philosophic prejudice, — orthodoxy wanting nothing to do with philosophy, and rationalism wishing to

get rid of religion. And now as then, these old-time adversaries are found at one in their common hostility to a speculative knowledge of religious truth. On the part of the Church and its theologians this hostility is mainly owing to the inability of figurate conception to recognize its own content in the form of the pure notion, and to the fear lest the content of Christian dogma be destroyed in its transference from the forms of the abstract understanding to the higher forms of the speculative reason. It is thus quite natural, but utterly groundless; and no greater service can be rendered to the cause of spiritual truth than to bring religious conservatism to see the injustice of its distrust and dislike, and to welcome philosophy as its own potent and faithful ally.

In what follows I shall only consider what I take to be the crucial point of the present work,—the necessity of philosophy to a real knowledge of religious truth. It is not that such knowledge is a necessity for every individual Christian, any more than he needs a knowledge of anatomy and physiology in order to walk and to digest. But the Christian Church, the mind of Christendom, does need no less than knowledge of the spiritual and Divine, and this involves the need of speculative thought.

The latter proposition may be disputed: it may be said that the certitude of GOD'S existence is immediately given in the religious consciousness. GOD is the object of my consciousness, but He is not merely that; He exists in Himself, and while not separate from me, is distinct from me. This immediate relation of the object and myself is certitude. We may express it thus: I am as certain of GOD as of my own existence; I might almost say more certain, since GOD is the universal Being from whom my individuality is derived, and if He were not, I would no longer be. Thus the certainty of GOD and of myself is one and the same certainty; or certitude is the indivisibility of two different terms, GOD and myself. Hence religious belief has its source in what is deepest and most personal in my being. I do not get it from without; it is the testimony of my spirit that makes me believe; that is, man is by nature religious. His organic relation to GOD is the truth of his being; as such it is latent or virtual within his consciousness, and only needs to be awakened. Belief, then, is what Jacobi called a perception of reason, analogous to the perception of sense. It is

that intuitive knowledge which is the revelation of GOD in us, the manifestation of spirit to spirit.

It will be seen that immediate certitude contains by implication a principle which is fundamental in philosophy; namely, that whatever claims acceptance as true must appeal to consciousness for recognition, — that is, that all reality is reality for consciousness, or reality is relation to consciousness; and so all other certitude rests finally on the certitude which consciousness has of itself. Immediate certitude is indeed an essential element in the organic unity of knowledge, and *as such an element* it is implicit or virtual knowledge; that is to say, it is knowledge as the acorn is the oak, because of its implications and involutions, not because of its immediacy. Immediacy is not the form of knowledge, and strictly speaking there is no such thing as immediate knowledge. Immediate knowledge could only be of immediate being; and there is no such thing as immediate being. That is an abstraction of thought. It is immediate only in so far as we abstract from it all determination. Everything that is, exists in relation to another; and in that its being, or its immediacy, demands another existence, it is mediated. Immediate or abstract being can only mean the potentiality to be which as yet is nothing. It is the same with immediate knowledge. That can only mean the power of knowing which as yet knows nothing, just as pure vision is the power of seeing which as yet sees nothing. Knowledge is knowledge of an object. There cannot be knowledge except there be a knowing subject and an object that is known, and that is to have two terms related through the mediation of a third. To affirm immediate knowledge is simply to be unconscious of the mediation which, nevertheless, all knowledge contains. It is to hold the immediate element in knowledge to be self-sufficient *as* immediate, and fail to see that this immediacy itself involves or virtually includes mediation. But for the fact that while we delude ourselves with abstractions, we are living unconsciously in a concrete world, there could be no talk of immediate knowledge. It is the result of many mediations that a truth comes to appear axiomatic and our knowledge of it intuitive; just as one plays a difficult piece of music offhand because habit is second nature, because back of the immediate capability lies the mediation of long training. So then the immediate certitude of the religious consciousness is what it is in

its organic relation to the organic whole of knowledge; it is its place and function in that system that give it its validity; in and by itself it is not itself, as a hand cut from the body is no longer a hand.

It is not, however, so conceived by those who adopt the position of Jacobi. We are taught that this certitude is all; we cannot go beyond it. We must stop with this, and cling to this as a finality. Rather this is the starting-point of our knowledge of GOD, and so distinctively a starting-point that one cannot remain in it if he would; whence it comes that they who counsel us to cling to it themselves lose hold of it. It is held that the sole organ of certitude in religion is immediate apprehension, or faith, since spiritual truths are beyond the grasp of the scientific mind. So understood, belief is contrasted with knowledge, and in that contrast certitude escapes us, and faith becomes an endeavor, or a longing, to recover this lost certitude; that is to say, faith loses its own character and significance, and changes into uncertainty or doubt. In its deeper sense faith is more than immediate apprehension, it is a form of spiritual knowledge; but Christian apologists have lost faith in such a faith as this and no longer claim a real knowledge of spiritual things. They declare with Tennyson,

We have but faith; we cannot know,
For knowledge is of things we see.

They approve the position of Faraday: "I prostrate my reason in the matter of religion. If I applied it to the processes of thought I employ in scientific research, I should be an infidel."

Accepting the principles of eighteenth-century thought, they join hands with its modern representatives in the enforcement of their common dogma, Agnosticism,— by a strange infatuation taking this for the sure refuge of orthodoxy. It is supposed that to insist on the incompetence of intelligence to a knowledge of the supersensible is to vindicate the authority of a Divine revelation addressed to faith; but it is overlooked that faith has been allowed to change its nature while retaining its name. It ought to be plain that the Agnostic postulate precludes the possibility of a revelation. A revelation is such only to intelligence. Revelation is the unification of two terms,— an object to be revealed and a subject to whom it is revealed. In so far as the subject is unintelligent, the object is unintelligible, and

there is an end of revelation. If man is essentially incapable of a certain kind of knowledge, not even Divine power can communicate that knowledge; and the attempt would be as idle as holding up a picture before a man born blind. That Agnosticism logically involves a denial of the Christian religion, and that the phrase, "Christian Agnostic," by which Principal Tulloch describes Coleridge, is a contradiction in terms, ought not to require argument. There is a GOD whom I know that I cannot know; the creed of orthodox Agnosticism reduces to that single article, and its faith to simple unintelligence of an unintelligible. Dean Mansel indeed maintained that, given the premise, we cannot know anything about the Divine, it is our duty to believe what the Church teaches. This sudden appeal to faith on the part of an Agnostic recalls the clever feat of the man in the nursery rhyme who scratched out his eyes by jumping into one bush, and scratched them in again by jumping into another. Mr. Spencer rightly holds that eyes cannot be regained by any such second jump, and insists that "we cannot know anything" is a final conclusion from which nothing further is to be drawn. Belief in an unknown may or may not have a rational ground, but belief in an unknowable is self-stultification. Thus, from those who will have no other knowledge of the Divine than is given in the immediacy of consciousness is taken away even that which they have, and the only certainty left them is the certainty of their own ignorance.

This result is a practical demonstration that the immediate certitude of consciousness, taken abstractedly, or out of its vital relations in the system of knowledge, is insufficient to itself and unable to maintain itself against the negations of reflection. And this follows from the nature of this certitude as in form subjective and in content empirical. In the first place, belief is that apprehension of an object which does not comprehend its inherent necessity or reason. When we have a rational perception of the necessity of anything, — say, the equality of the square of the hypotenuse to the squares of the other two sides of a right-angled triangle, — we do not say, I believe, but, I understand; and to demonstrate the truth of anything, means to show its necessity. It is the demonstrability of the object that constitutes the objectivity of knowledge; and since to believe in GOD is to have a certainty of His existence in which there is no perception of the necessity whereby He is what He

is, that belief can have no other than a subjective ground. In the second place, the content of this certitude is the existence of the object as a fact of experience. GOD appears in our consciousness. How and why He so appears, what is the necessity of His appearing, are questions we do not ask ourselves; yet in the answer to these questions lies knowledge. In the immediacy of this relation, to which our attention is confined, the object of consciousness is wholly indeterminate, and we can only say of it that it is. If we say more,—if we say, for example, that GOD is an infinite being,—the proposition has no meaning except through the relation which reflection establishes between its terms, and the implied relation of finite and infinite; but such relationing is mediation. Though we give the name GOD to the object of immediate consciousness, that term can have no signification other than the being which does not appear to sense-perception; and that is the abstract universal. To say that this universal *is*, adds nothing to it, for being is already contained in the universal, or the abstract universal is simply being in abstract universality. We find ourselves dealing with the elementary terms of pure logic; and so the immediate consciousness which is taken for the firm ground of concrete reality, turns out to be a region of the most nebulous abstractions. The real content of immediate certitude is indeterminate, or blank and empty being, that ultimate abstraction from which thought cannot escape, because it is nothing else than thought itself in its simple abstractness. This is the Spencerian Absolute. Mr. Spencer himself tells us that it is “the necessarily indestructible mental element, . . . the substance of consciousness, . . . the obverse of self-consciousness.” In a word, abstract being is abstract thought. At this point all reality dissolves into the thinking. There is actually nothing left of the religious certitude but this: I have the thought of GOD. This thought is no proof of GOD's existence, any more than my thinking one hundred dollars puts one hundred dollars in my pocket. The certitude has collapsed and disappeared. Nor is this all; we have not here a more or less probable GOD to believe in, but we are driven to the negation of GOD's existence. For the object of my consciousness is other than I, and I am other than it. This essential dualism of consciousness has only been concealed in the unity of immediate certitude. Myself and the object are distinguished by this,—that a determination is attributed to one which does not belong to

the other. That determination is being, for the immediate consciousness contains no other. Well, it is I who am, and so absolutely that in the *I* is already contained the *am*. I cannot doubt my being, for I am the being that doubts. If I doubt my being, I must doubt my doubt, and then doubt disappears. Thus falling wholly into the self, being is withdrawn from the object. The object is not in itself, but for me, — the thinking subject. This object in which I believe has its being only in my consciousness, or it only is as object of consciousness; that is to say, GOD becomes a subjective conception, without reality, and thus the immediate certitude is forced to the position of Feuerbach, the subjective idealism which is properly not Agnosticism, but atheism.

Such is the logical result of taking the immediate certitude, or "perception of reason," for the be-all and end-all of religious knowledge. The ground of reason fails us; and if the belief in GOD is to be supported it must be on some other ground. That ground is Feeling. It has appeared that the object of consciousness has no being in itself; but I feel in my being the need that this object should also be. And so we are brought to an abstract separation of thought and feeling, to a schism in the unity of the spirit which Jacobi confessed himself unable to heal. "In my heart there is light, but when I would bring it into the understanding it is quenched. I find myself a heathen with the understanding, while a Christian with the spirit." One may teach that feeling is to accept what intelligence rejects, but not that such Agnostic mysticism is Christianity. It is true that religious feeling has its worth and its necessity. It is essential to religion that it be of the heart; but then it is not its being of the heart that makes it a true religion. The heart is deceitful and desperately wicked. We have the basest as well as the noblest feelings, and we have feelings the most delusive, — as the fear of ghosts, or enthusiasm for a bad cause. In short, feeling is a form for every kind of content, or a form in which the content is wholly contingent. Hence that anything should be an object of feeling does not give it value nor assure it verity. The intensity of religious feeling has nothing to do with its legitimacy, else the most grovelling superstition might be justified. It is the work of the individual to give his feeling a rational content, since it is by its content that feeling has worth, and not feeling that gives worth

to the content. If we have the feeling of the right, the moral sense, it is not our feeling that makes it the right; it is the right that inspires or compels our feeling. Feeling is what man has in common with the animal; and if we have this feeling of an absolute which the animal has not, it is because we are not merely a sentient being, but a spirit. And so if we have the feeling of GOD, we must have already known Him in some other way. If religion begins in feeling, it is as the plant begins in the seed. In the phenomenal existence of the plant the seed appears as its *prius*, — that from which the plant takes rise; but in reality it is the last result of the plant's fully developed life, and it presupposes this complete development. It is thus only apparently that the life of the plant is involved in the seed; it is really involved in the totality of the plant's nature. In like manner, feeling is the seed, the empirically involved form, of the content of religion; but that content does not belong to feeling, considered in itself.

If, then, one take the position that in his feeling is the proof of GOD's existence, the answer is that since anything may be an object of feeling, this proves too much, and so proves nothing. Such is the external argument, but let us take the position in question and see what becomes of it. I feel in myself the presence of the Divine Being, and in that feeling I am united to Him. Feeling is the meeting-point where we are not two, but one; here only is the assurance of GOD's existence. The certitude of feeling is again the immediate unity of my being and the being of the object, but now the special unity of inward sensation. What I taste is not sugar, but sweetness; that is, I am affected by the object, but I am so taken up with the affection that for me the object has gone out of existence. In like manner, inward feeling is not feeling of the object, but, so to speak, merely feeling of the feeling; for in so far as the object retains its independence, it is not felt. In other words, the object of feeling is only there as felt; that is, it is not there at all. For subject and object are, as it were, enveloped in one another, — have gone together in mutual involvement. The dualism is for the time being completely merged in the state of feeling; there is only a feeling self. Evidently this is not to have a certitude of the being of the object. But furthermore the dualism is here ignored, not transcended; it is still latent or virtual in the immediate unity of feeling; and since

man is not only a sentient but a thinking being, it cannot be suppressed. It first reappears as a difference internal in the self, the difference between the self as sensitive and non-sensitive, as affected and unaffected. My state of feeling is thus brought before myself as an other. I feel myself on the one hand a mere empirical individuality; on the other, elevated to the universal and absolute. And as I feel myself going from one to the other of these two states, I feel myself going out of myself, and I am led to the differentiation of subject and object. Thus feeling itself involves the passage to reflection. We cannot remain in the immediate unity of feeling, least of all in religious feeling. At first religion appears as a mere state or affection of the feeling self. But religion is in fact a relation, and in its immediacy, the relation of the empirical consciousness to the universal. It follows that in religious feeling I am led to detach myself from myself, for the universal is the negation of my empirical existence, which now seems an unreality, something which only has its truth in the universal. That is, in feeling my empirical existence, I feel also the existence of the universal as a negative, as a state of feeling placed outside of me; or what comes to the same thing, while I am in this latter state of feeling I feel, as it were, a stranger to myself in my empirical existence, which in respect to the universal is but nothingness. It appears, then, that the feeling self is not in unity with the object, but is rather separate from it and opposed to it, since in the felt relation the self loses itself in the other. Thus as in thinking consciousness we found that the being of the object is absorbed in that of the subject, so in feeling, the being of the subject is absorbed in that of the object. Like the Oriental mystic, I lose myself in the vain attempt to find the Divine Being; or else, if I remain at home it is only to see Him melt into the bodiless creation and coinage of my brain. In either case the unity of two related terms fails to maintain itself, because it is only an immediate unity.

How a real certitude is reached by speculative thought must be the subject of another article.

FRANCIS A. HENRY.

A Little Journey in the World.

A Little Journey in the World. A Novel. By CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER. New York: Harper and Brothers.

MR. WARNER has made this novel exceptional by showing boldly, while he traces "the development of a soul," that he has an ideal for such development, and cannot write indifferently of the soul's falling short of it. We shall have better novels from a merely literary point of view when more of our American writers understand that what is "the beginning of wisdom" in life is also the beginning of greatness in literature.

The story of Margaret Debree is not a great work, but it is on the right path toward being so. There is too much of the journalist in its constantly humorous tone, in the light and questioning way in which the author throws out his reflections; but this rather wearisome banter carries with it many true observations on the ways of American life, and some hints worth elaborating by each reader for himself. Not least suggestive are the clever introductory pages, where Mr. Warner argues that "the tiresome monotony of American life," which is supposed to make it the despair of novelists, is more a theory than a fact. "If one had," he says, "the ability to draw to the life a single individual in the most homogeneous community, the product would be sufficiently startling." But it is just because we are not a homogeneous people that our national school of fiction is slow to form:—

The difficulty . . . is in hitting upon what is universally accepted as characteristic of American life, so various are the types in regions widely separated from each other, such different points of view are had even in conventionalities, and conscience operates so variously on moral problems in one community and another. It is as impossible for one section to impose upon another its rules of taste and propriety in conduct—and taste is often as strong to determine conduct as principle—as it is to make its literature acceptable to the other.

This variety of standards is a fundamental difficulty. It makes the very material of the artist's work untrustworthy. It is as if he moulded a statue in clay that was liable to shrink or to distend itself according to the weather. The value of his lesser

touches, of his comparisons, even of his phrases, alters too widely in meeting the customary ideas of different readers. One need not go out of one's own part of the country for such an effect. We were reading the other day a charming sketch by a distinguished New England writer of the society of a village which he likened to Cranford. As one of its peculiarities he noted that the ladies were all so poor that when they met in a shop they made it a point of good manners not to notice one another's purchases. That remark destroyed the picture for us. We had been accustomed to think this a point of good manners without any question of poverty at all, and should have supposed an Astor and a Vanderbilt as incapable of infringing it as Miss Matey herself. Even in so small a matter as the details of politeness, a fixed standard is necessary if we are to have definite pictures of polite people; otherwise the artist cannot be sure of his effect. Some such cavils we could make at *A Little Journey in the World*; some such uncertainty disturbs its lines, but this rather in the background of the work than in its principal figures. Margaret herself, if not quite so pleasing in trifles of manner and speech as her author affirms her to be, is real and interesting. Mr. Warner states her life's problem in a question: "Why is it that to do the right thing is often to make the mistake of a life?"

Margaret does the right thing by declining to marry a man she does not love, meets soon after another who loves her and whose love she returns, marries this last, and rapidly descends to his level of character. Mr. Warner thinks that the one chance she had of coming to her best was the one she threw away,—of being the wife of a good, simple, gentlemanly Englishman, with whom she would have shared high aims and thoughts such as fitted the tone of her life hitherto; he would have made her Countess of Chisholm, but this she did not remember in rejecting him. The man she afterward met and preferred was a brilliant operator on the New York Stock Exchange, and as his wife her position was one of daily growing splendor and importance. The splendor was all that can appear in magnificent houses, luxurious living, private palace-cars, yachts, servants, dinners, balls; the importance, in the breathless attention of the newspapers.

Just at first Margaret had some doubts as to what sort of business her husband might be doing, some uncomfortable sense

that she had once called railway-wrecking, as it was explained to her, infamous. But "business" is a complicated machinery of bewildering vastness; and the valuable principle of not talking about what you do not understand, can easily be made a check to amateur influence of any direct kind on the commercial tone. Henderson answered her feeble inquiries with a patience that did him credit, and a small but sufficient want of candor. Whether he was cold to her was a far more vivid question in her mind than whether certain vague abstractions called bond-holders were making an outcry against him. She was quick to believe when he told her such outcry was unjust; she saw and basked in the sunlight of his prosperity, gloried in adding her social success to his, and even when it was one of her own old friends whose subsistence disappeared by his "enterprise," she had but a momentary indignation against him which ended in her loving him more, and seeing with his eyes more completely still than before. In this way it took but few years to make her outdo even him "in absolute worldliness, in devotion to it." As she forgot her knowledge of right and wrong as defined in the Eighth Commandment, her old tastes, her old friends, her old ideals, became irksome to her. She was transformed from the girl who once blushed to have leisure enough to visit the hardworking poor into the fine lady who defended her extravagant wardrobe with the plea: "What would the poor do without the rich? Is n't it the highest charity to give them work? Even with it they are ungrateful enough." No check comes to her enjoyment until suddenly she is ill and dies. Her husband marries within two years a woman whom she had called her friend, Carmen Eschelles, than whom we remember in no novel a more repulsive character. This second marriage argues no failure in Henderson's affection for his wife during her life; it simply brings out at a touch how the quality of that affection had been lowered in the general moral descent to which Margaret had offered no resistance. She and her husband together had grown daily harder, narrower, more insensible to anything above the material world; even sorrow could mean nothing to him but discomfort; it was perfectly natural that he should repair his loss.

But in Carmen we find the key to Mr. Warner's problem, and a different solution of it from that which he offers. It was not Margaret's marriage that began her deterioration; to be John

Lyon's wife would not have saved her. Her rejection of him first *showed* the mistake of a life; it did not constitute it. She had scarcely seen Henderson when she met with Carmen, and that acquaintance is the touchstone of her character. That she was not repelled by the glaring vulgarity of this person makes it not strange that what we can hardly call anything but the wickedness beneath it failed to shock her. Why was she not repelled? What had been the quality of that Brandon "culture" of which we hear so much, that it had not formed in the girl who grew up under it a taste strong enough to forbid association with Carmen? If, as Mr. Warner says, taste is as strong to determine conduct as principle, is it not of the first importance to form in a young mind definite vigorous prejudices against the very fringes of harm? This is what refinement means, and without such refinement no reading of "late periodicals and pamphlets,—English, American and French,"—no familiarity with Emerson and Tennyson even, no "well-selected library," will produce any culture worth the trouble. Reason is too slow for emergencies, and the opening of life is all emergencies. Tolerance is no virtue for youth. They were good people at Brandon; but their liberal and democratic complaisance, their distaste for self-assertion and for being disagreeable, seems to have reduced them to a helpless condition of looking on to see the result of their own and others' actions without any sense that they themselves were responsible for the same. Young people do not learn a deep hatred of evil from such humorous comments on it, such mild satire, as Margaret listened to in the Brandon circle, nor even from such tranquil though sincere regret as her friend and historian at his gravest expresses. It was this historian, Mr. Fairchild, the orphan girl's oldest and nearest male friend, who introduced Henderson to her without a word of warning, although Henderson's character was well known to him; nor is there any hint of self-reproach for this in all his later mourning over Margaret's "dead soul." All he can say is, If she had only married the Englishman!

We should rather say, If only her guardians had understood that a lively and intelligent girl may possibly not be created solely to read the magazines, nor even to teach in a mission-school! Her time for activity by proxy, or for teaching others only, has not come. She may have gifts and powers that want education,—gifts for the finer illustration of social existence,

powers to deal with numbers and variety of her fellow-creatures; such gifts demand models to form themselves by and scope for their full exertion. The comfortable undress life which suited the elderly people about her, after they had seen their world and tried its excitements, left her young energies restless for action:—

I am half sick of shadows, said
The Lady of Shalott.

It is a double charge which we bring against Margaret's friends, but not a contradictory one. The same slowness to take up their responsibilities, to lead, is the base of their one error as of the other. Too tolerant to impart to the child an effectual horror of wrong-doing, they were also too unassuming to make themselves an example of fine manners that might serve her always as standard and as test. If she had seen during all her life at home what a finished gentleman is, whether he be rich or poor; if the ladies about her had been models that it strained her eager faculty for manners to equal,—she would not have been deceived by so inferior an imitation as Henderson, and she could not have adapted herself for an hour to Carmen.

Of course it may be retorted that we are begging the question; that the very point of the story is that Margaret was bred among plain country people, otherwise her "Journey in the World" would not have been a new experience to her. But plain country people in the easy circumstances of the Brandon group, priding themselves on a known descent of half a dozen generations, and on inherited and acquired intellectual power, are surely responsible not only for goodness in the rough, but also for some degree of that perfection which shows itself in finish. Such perfection is a sincerity complete enough to carry principles into the details of life; it is the result of long practice in reverence and self-command; and there is no reason why any gathering of friends should seem too small for its existence. Its first place, indeed, is the family; and on its development there its possibility in small societies or large naturally depends.

We must be permitted to add that if her respectable acquaintance, instead of gently mocking at the "society" papers, had stopped their subscription to these defilers of the public taste, Margaret might have had clearer ideas of what constitutes "importance," and also of what befits womanly dignity.

G. E. MEREDITH.

The Duty of Churchmen to the State.

The Duty of Churchmen to the State. The Address of Richard Lathers. Delivered at the Anniversary Banquet of the Church Club of the City of New York, 1889.

WE must reserve the right to devote the space usually occupied by a review article to bring before American Churchmen, with as little comment as possible, the views from a Christian standpoint of prominent laymen on the social and political condition of our country. In this way we shall hope to arouse their fellow-laymen to a just realization of the duty they owe as Christian men and citizens to their country.

We are extremely fortunate in our first selection for this place of honor. Col. Richard Lathers has been a Churchwarden and member of his Diocesan Convention for upwards of forty years, and for half a century prominent and successful in commercial life. In the course of his long and busy life he has found time not only to serve the Church, but the State, by taking an active interest in politics in the broad and true meaning of the word. His library has the appearance of that of a man devoted to literature as a profession.

What such a layman may have to say to his fellow-Churchmen must of necessity command their profound attention and consideration. We should like to see his address in the hands of every young man just entering upon his career of professional or business and social life as well as in the hands of those now well engaged in the battle of life.

We would particularly urge every young man to place the following paragraph from the address where, if the time ever comes when he thinks of himself as a man, his eyes may rest upon it : —

The time has come when the Church must exercise its social and political influence at home for the preservation of the purity and continuity of the government under which we live. We have duties as husbands and as

fathers in this connection which it is cowardly and wicked to neglect. An intelligent and thoughtful woman must have a contempt for a man who, denying her the political power which is conferred on him to protect the purity and stability of our institutions against the acknowledged inroads of political corruption, yet basely and in a cowardly manner makes no effort to maintain the government of his fathers.

Surely these are words worth remembering. We hear the cry of *Political corruption* everywhere. It is not only in this great city that the appeal is now being made for release from the base, ignorant rule of the corner saloon-keeper and his patrons and followers, but in thousands of other cities of less importance in the eyes of this world. Why is it so? Not because the corner saloon-keeper and his patrons and followers outnumber those who desire wholesome laws and a pure and upright administration of the affairs of civil and municipal government, but because they are indifferent to the urgent call to do their duty as citizens. There may be some excuse for the man who is ignorant of what the law of the Gospel commands him to do, but there can be no excuse for Churchmen; and we think Colonel Lathers has made us all his debtors by bringing the matter of *The Duty of Churchmen to the State* so plainly before the members of the Church Club of New York, and we consider it our duty to give it still greater publicity by giving place to the greater portion of it here, and thus a place in the permanent literature of the Church. At the end we shall comment upon certain prominent features of the address.

I appreciate the honor, and avail myself of the opportunity of addressing so large an assembly of Christian gentlemen on the importance of their organism as a club, directly and indirectly, to the Church and the public interest at large,—a lay element under Church training in the field of politics, laboring for the preservation of civil liberty co-ordinate with the pure doctrines and conservative influence which have given it a dignity and power commensurate and co-operating with the growth of our own civil institutions.

The clergy do not need your assistance for the propagation of the doctrines and the spiritual influence of the Church. Their own active zeal, piety, and learning serves and has served with distinguished success in the theological and spiritual progress of society wherever the Church has had a footing under the protection of law and order.

Your co-operation is asked in your own field of labor as citizens of the country, in guarding the political, social, and religious rights of the body

politic, creating, as it were, a division of labor and responsibility which will best serve the mutual interest of the Church and the State,—a competent bulwark for the protection of the institutions of both, without degrading our clergy with secular politics, or fruitlessly employing an incompetent laity in theology.

In human affairs, the most effective instruments are those specifically adapted and applied to a single purpose. The devoted piety, the profound scholarship, and the theological training of our clergy pre-eminently fit them for spiritual guides by precept and example; while the laity, more practically connected with worldly business and civil life, are better equipped as pioneers to clear the way of social and political evils, to make the paths straight for the advance and spread of Gospel influence. In the affairs of a nation there must be a co-operation of religious and civil forces independent of, yet co-operating with, each other by mutual sympathy, the clerical having precedence in spiritual and the laity in civil matters. The Girondists and the Republicans of the French Revolution drifted into anarchy because of this want of conservative co-operation. The lay element, incensed by the domination of a corrupt clergy in supporting a venal and corrupt monarchy, rushed into the opposite extreme, and abolished religion itself, and with it law and order, substituting an absurd pagan worship of the Goddess of Reason, followed by the tragic Reign of Terror, which deluged France with the blood of her most illustrious citizens.

Archbishop Whately, in discussing a kindred subject as to Church work says: 'Let associations (in the Church) be formed for a good object when needful, instead of *forming them as an end in itself*, and then looking out for something to do. That something, being secondary matter, will sometimes be ill-done, or neglected, and sometimes be — what had better be left undone.'

The Archbishop's discriminating advice reaches in a timely manner your own Association, gentlemen. You have in plain view *a good and a needful object*, — an effort to suppress the corruptions and misrule in our official and legislative affairs of civil life, for which you are well equipped by high social position, manly instincts, and the culture of your Church. While we may rejoice as Churchmen and as citizens in the possession of the essential elements of advanced civilization and national power, keeping fully abreast with the wonderful progress of this nineteenth century in science, art, and literature, and last, but not least, in the growth and influence of our Church, yet we have to deplore a marked political deterioration as compared with our early history, augmented as these growing evils are by corruptions in high places, which are daily confronting us in our National, State, and Municipal governments. And yet there is no general deterioration in the mental or moral tone of the community. The great body of the people are sound; but

the great majority are indolent and careless as to their rights and duties as citizens, and have practically relegated their power to a corrupt, scheming, and ignorant but active minority who naturally rule in the corrupt interest of their own class, and in derogation of common honesty as well as of the institutions and the instincts of our people.

Reflect for a moment, gentlemen, on our political condition. The metropolis of this nation, the acknowledged rival of the most populous and wealthy cities of Europe, the great centre of finance, enterprise, industry, and culture on our continent, these elements of progress, these vital interests of millions of freemen should be represented in our municipal and State governments by men of the highest capacity and unquestionable integrity, or at least by the average respectability of the community; but on the contrary, with few, very few exceptions, men notoriously ignorant and dishonest are elevated to power from the very dregs of society (some of whom have not escaped criminal prosecution, while others are already expiating their official crimes in our State's prison), and constitute the official and legislative material selected to rule over us by grog-shop and saloon dictation, and the management of machine politicians whose debased practices have driven from public employment men of probity and capacity of all parties. Now, gentlemen, this is no exaggeration, but well-known truth; corruption, ignorance, and misrule exist to-day as they have rarely existed together in our community at any previous time, not indeed to the disgrace of our republican form of government, but to the criminal neglect of that exercise of the rights and duties of citizenship which are as essential to the maintenance of that form of government as to liberty itself. What right have we to expect that when absenting ourselves from the practical duties of politics, — caucuses and nominating conventions, and too often even from the polls, the necessary machinery of elections under our form of government, — what hope can we have that the other class will not, while fulfilling those duties which we neglect, put in power, as they have done, representatives and officials in sympathy with themselves? I would not here be understood to undervalue politicians because they are unlearned or of humble origin. On the contrary, it is to their credit if they have been able by manly, honest, and intellectual effort to rise above their origin and condition; the frauds and misrule now so disgraceful to modern public life have not always the excuse of ignorance and poverty. In the nervous language of Ruskin: 'There is a deep degradation in extravagance, in bribery, in indolence and pride, in taking places they are not fitted for, in coining places for which there is no need. It does not disgrace a gentleman to become an errand-boy or a day-laborer, but it disgraces him to become a knave or a thief; and knavery is not the less knavery because it involves large interests, nor theft the less because it is countenanced by usage or condoned in party leaders.' These wise

remarks would form a civil catechism for a true American standard. It is a striking fact that the moral standard of most men is much lower in political than in social life. It is quite common for men who in private life are models of integrity to justify the most flagrant political dishonesty in their own party. A person charged with cheating at cards would be repulsed from every club in the city, but a popular and efficient party leader may be morally, and in many cases legally, convicted of notorious corruption and malfeasance in office, and yet be favorably considered for the highest office in the gift of his party; and when such crimes can no longer be denied, they are condoned by citing the usage and necessity of the practice as an offset to the alleged crimes of the opposing party.

The present age marks the influence exercised in modern politics by mediocre men as unstable in principle as they are in integrity. *All things to all men* seems to be the popular road to political favor. Sir Francis Bacon informs us that 'the weakest politicians are the most successful dissemblers,' — like patent medicines, promising to cure all maladies and promote all health with the least strain on the public digestion; and it has been well said that 'cunning is the wisdom of weak men,' and low-principled politicians soon find they are led by those more abandoned than themselves, while the tax-payers in this city realize the potency of this army of spoliation, held together by the '*cohesive power of public plunder*.' An Indian chief once said to a British officer, 'If you allow no plundering, how do you maintain so large an army?' Now, gentlemen, these are reform problems which must be solved in the face of partisan and race obstruction, — the corruptions of one and the prejudices of the other.

Parties in politics, like sects in religion, may not be a necessity, but they must be taken into account as practical issues largely influencing public affairs.

You are not to become a Salvation Army in politics, nor a reform party in morals. The former becomes fanatical, and the latter too often disposes of its suffrage to the highest bidder when it becomes influential, at least, that is the experience in this city of former organisms of that character.

There are three important clubs in the city, — the Union League, supporting the policy and the measures of the Republican party; the Manhattan, those of the Democracy; and last, but not least in importance, your own Church Club, the members of which, as individuals, are perhaps largely in sympathy with the other two as their respective political and economic opinions range you in party conflicts, free, I hope, of such party entanglements as Christian gentlemen must ignore.

For some inexplicable reason the union of piety and politics has hitherto been unproductive of advantage to either. The New York

World is the successor of a journal originating an effort to establish a pious daily newspaper ; and the present *Mail and Express*, with laudable effort in the same pious line, supersedes an old and well-known political and party organ. But it will be found, I fear, that piety and politics in journalism will fail also.

Perhaps the philosophical poet has best formulated the reason why the vicious in politics and the virtuous in piety cannot be amalgamated without destroying the purity of the latter and its power of reformation :

Vice is a monster of such frightful mien
As to be hated needs but to be seen ;
Yet seen too oft, familiar with his face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace.

Be this as it may, the Church Club has a mission to perform. As laymen, public-spirited men, they will find their proper field of duty in the counsels and in the conflicts of their respective political parties.

Differences of opinion in sectarian, political, or in economical measures should offer no bar to unity on moral and patriotic issues in or out of your respective sects or parties. Designing men find it effective to interpose disturbing religious prejudices by exaggerating the dangerous influence of Popery or of Puritanism.

Popery and Puritanism are extremes in theology ; but their vices are wonderfully alike, whether developed in Spain or in our own New England, in burning heretics or in drowning witches.

In this enlightened age the errors of both are passing away, under the effect of modern civilization, with the influence of the Bible and free discussion.

The real spirituality of either, when not submerged by a perverted theology and an undue desire for power, has produced at home and abroad the highest type of Christian gentlemen and distinguished citizens in every relation of public usefulness and of sound culture and refinement.

The time has come when the Church must exercise its social and political influence at home for the preservation of the purity and continuity of the government under which we live. We have duties as husbands and as fathers in this connection which it is cowardly and wicked to neglect. An intelligent and thoughtful woman must have a contempt for a man who, denying her the political power which is conferred on him to protect the purity and stability of our institutions against the acknowledged inroads of political corruption, yet basely and in a cowardly manner makes no effort to maintain the government of his fathers.

All honor to the missionary efforts of the Church for spreading the Gospel in foreign lands and in the great West of our own country, but

there is at present a realistic force in the homely maxim that 'Charity begins at home.'

I address you to-night not only as Churchmen bound by the faith and the practice of her Catholic doctrines, but also as conservative yet earnest citizens, recognizing your duty to your country in its politico-economical interest; I address you chiefly for the preservation of American instincts and the pure republican and Christian institutions inherited from your Protestant fathers.

Civil and religious liberty, we are told, are as much the gifts of God as is our reason or any other temporal blessing; we are equally accountable for the use and preservation or neglect of either; and it is equally to be appreciated that good, honest civil government affords the most effective facilities for the spread and maintenance of religious influence and Gospel liberty in our country, and is the only barrier against disorganizing license, which leads to despotism, anarchy, and barbarism, to which so many powerful nations have fallen victims.

We have already painful evidences of vicious inroads of this character in our Western cities,—disorganizing societies openly declaring hostility to our institutions. The red flag of socialism and anarchy is substituted for the Stars and Stripes of constitutional freedom, which painfully reminds us of the bloody events of the French Revolution, which menaced civilization itself during that atheistic period.

The historian Lecky very properly tells us that 'life is history, not poetry, consisting mostly of small things, rarely illuminated by flashes of heroism, and rarely broken by great dangers. Its record exhibits a rather unusual number of examples of high professions falsified in action, and of men who, displaying in some form undoubted and transcendent virtue, fell in others far below the average of mankind.' Therefore I would urge public men to accommodate themselves to character as they find it, not expecting the heroic in politics, but to seek to modify what they cannot reform in measures of public interest.

It is to be regretted that our intelligent and conservative citizens, by neglect of their public duties, have measurably lost that influence over the masses which they formerly exercised in the direction and shaping of public opinion and political action by means of the caucuses and the nominating conventions of both parties. In the early history of the country, when every citizen faithfully performed his public duties, from the party caucus up to casting his ballot at the polls, personal contact and mutual good offices, intelligence, probity, and sympathy, produced a conservative ascendancy with every class of society, which largely counteracted the corrupt influence of demagogues, professional office-seekers, and unfit candidates of both parties. Now politics has become a profession generally graduated in our drinking saloons, of which the alumni are office-holders and contractors.

Occasionally some conservative men, aroused by some particularly despotic or corrupt action of these graduates for State's prison, call public meetings and organize reforms; but long absence and a disregard of the voting power of the people having paralyzed their influence, the spasmodic effort fails at the polls.

The great body of the people are honest, and desire good government, ready to co-operate with leaders who gain their confidence by supposed or real sympathy with their interests; but it is quite preposterous to suppose that they can be influenced by those that practically ignore them. Their voting power, like a resistless stream, may be modified and directed by friendly co-operation, but cannot be obstructed or despised. The navigation of the ship of state requires not only the professional qualifications of the captain, but also the practical duties of the seaman. One therefore embarking in the voyage must not be a *dude*, fearful of tarnishing his kid gloves while handling the ropes and while mixing with the people of the forecastle, but must manfully meet the duties and yet preserve his honor untarnished; and here let me say this is not without its popular reward when persisted in; Mr. Lincoln rose with dignity from the humble occupation of a rail-splitter to the Presidency.

The earnest business man is ready to grapple with the most comprehensive and perplexing problems of private life, but he shrinks from applying the same energy to his public duties. In many cases, in the spirit of trade, he institutes a comparison of the relative profit resulting from *personal* or *public* duty. He hopes that a zealous attention to his private business may yield him an annual increase of five to ten thousand dollars, whereas half that sum could not be saved by the reduction of his taxes, however much he may labor in the public interest. Falstaff, reflecting that honor had no skill in surgery, abstained from the battlefield. So our citizen determines like Falstaff to abdicate a duty and a privilege, without which conservative support a republic in time degenerates into corruptive anarchy or despotism. The machine politician accepts the abandoned duty, and finds his profit in levying heavy contributions on the public. To this cause, and to this only, we may attribute the corruption and misrule of the times, which legislative reforms may mitigate, but cannot cure.

It is true that a patriotic impulse occasionally spurs the delinquent's conscience, and he allies himself to some political party (as in times of pressing danger lax Christians join the Church), and then he becomes practically the tool of a partisan boss, who directs his suffrage, his funds, and his new-fledged political influence into well-worn channels of party discipline, in which, from want of experience in public matters, he is quite incapable of intelligent co-operation or for discriminating as to the utility of the measures or the fitness of the candidates he is called upon

to support. In time, it is to be hoped that the wise maxim of Thomas Jefferson may have practical application, that 'The price of liberty is eternal vigilance.'

Cicero, indignant with that class of Roman citizens who neglected their public duties while conservative men were struggling against the corruptions which finally submerged the liberties of that republic, told them plainly and prophetically that, as 'they valued their fish-ponds and luxuries above the stability and freedom of their country, in time they would realize that with the loss of free institutions their fish-ponds and luxuries would vanish also.'

At the recent Lambeth Conference of the Bishops of the English Church and of our own a resolution was passed urging the clergy to a more general study of POLITICAL ECONOMY as an important equipment essential for the duties of the profession in this industrial and commercial age. It would have been well had this distinguished and learned body of ecclesiastical prelates enjoined a more active employment of that important political and social science by our laymen also, and in co-operating with their respective political parties, aid in shaping public measures of government, qualified by a science in which we are sadly and disgracefully deficient in a land where science, literature, and art have every encouragement in the way of free schools and richly endowed colleges and scientists of the first order.

Political economy is based on the experience of advanced civilization. It is simply the history of industrial and mercantile practice formulated in modern times from statistical information into a theory, — more or less reliable as the facts are more or less applicable to the scientific results sought to be evolved from them. The facts and deductions require just the same care and truth of investigation as must be observed in any other science, and are as capable of demonstration as any mathematical problem, these facts being fully ascertained.

Political economy has been illustrated and proven from opposite points of view, — Adam Smith deductively, and Mill inductively. The former wrote his work on the laws of trade in the little fishing Scotch village of Kirkcaldy, far removed from the influence of trade, reasoning as a philosopher down from principles to facts. Mill, on the contrary, wrote his work in the busy and practical centres of trade in England, reasoning as a merchant upward from facts to principles, — both reaching the same conclusions. Theory therefore is but the history of practice, and when verified in this way ought to rank high in public estimation of the learned everywhere.

The Church may lay claim to the origin of this modern science. About a hundred and fifty years ago, Bishop Berkeley, in his celebrated *Five Hundred and Ninety-five Queries*, propounded and answered in the Socratic manner most of the important questions involved in this science,

and largely anticipated the more profound and conclusive essay of Adam Smith.

Bishop Berkeley seems to have first applied this theory of political economy to the Church, which he desired should be permitted to administer its own affairs independent of government support or interference.

He was the first English prelate to point out the great future of the American Church when it should be emancipated from the restraining influence and patronage of civil government, and the advantage of freedom of trade to the rising power of the West in its industrial and commercial growth. I cannot refrain from quoting a few lines of his prophetic vision, now so fully realized in our beloved country.

Then shalt be sung another golden age,
The rise of empire and of arts,
The good and great, inspiring Epic rage,
The wisest heads and noblest hearts.
Westward the course of empire takes its way.
The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama of the day;
Time's noblest offspring is the last.

Pope said of Berkeley, in no spirit of exaggeration, that he possessed '*every grace under heaven.*'

It is to be regretted that this practical and useful science is neglected among us,—so essential to every business and industrial interest, and without which our statesmen are as unfit to administer or legislate in public affairs as is a clergyman (officiating in a parish) ignorant of theology.

It is to the popular ignorance of this science that we may attribute the tendency to socialism and communism now pervading the working classes, and the false so-called *protective* policy, which so seriously interferes with commerce and the true intent of our domestic industries, many of our public men openly ignoring the knowledge of a science which their rank in society ought to imply.

This persistent ignorance originates in a perverted idea of the functions of government, claiming for it *paternal* duties which dwarf enterprise, and holds out false hopes to labor, and has induced the formation of despotic labor unions, strikes and boycotting, which so seriously menace the personal rights of every class; while the logical outcome of the doctrine in the so-called higher class gravitates into corporate trusts and the corrupt use of the public money derived from legislative grants to favorite corporations and speculative enterprises, all depending on government assistance at the expense of the people who pay the taxes. I hope, therefore, you will give your co-operative assistance, as a proper Church measure leading to practical reform, to effectuate the

purposes of the Bishops of Lambeth, as to the laity as well as with the clergy, in fostering a knowledge of political economy as a means of civil as well as of ecclesiastical importance. I cannot conclude this part of my subject without calling attention to the disgraceful action of the legislature of one of the Western States in attempting to exclude this science from its seminaries of learning in this nineteenth century,—a science which has the indorsement of every educated body in the world, and of every statesman and publicist of reputation, however much it may, like the truths of religion, be practically disregarded.

In keeping with this reckless ignorance, we have also the decision of a Western Supreme Court, which affirms the Bible to be a sectarian book, and its use in the public schools unconstitutional. Would it not seem that the West is degenerating into gross ignorance and atheism, if that legislature or this legal decision represent their intelligence and their religion?

The science of political economy simply formulates facts and draws conclusions applicable to the industry and commerce of all countries, irrespective of party or sectional interests or prejudice.

The Bible, still more universal in application, furnishes a rule of life in which all civilized people, regardless of politics or sectarian bias, profess to believe. CHRIST Himself has epitomized its scope and purpose in reply to a captious lawyer, 'Thou shalt love the LORD thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment; and the second is like unto it: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.' Where does our Western jurist find any antagonism to our Constitution in this universal law which so clearly concerns civilization?

When Galileo was compelled by an ignorant priesthood to ignore his theory of the revolution of the earth and on his knees to recant the great truth, he remarked in an undertone, '*The earth moves, for all that.*' So the truths of political economy and the Bible as the Word of God exist for all that. When a political or religious organism resorts to measures of opposition to the spread of knowledge or to the free investigation of any theory, its fate is sealed, and it is only a question of time as to its own destruction or that of the liberties of those it seeks to control and to dominate.

It is often alleged that the science of political economy is complicated; but so is the government of a great nation, and so also the construction and operation of the complex machinery which propels a great steamer across the ocean. No one should presume to direct either till he masters the subject involved.

Judge Story, in an address delivered before the American Institute of Instruction in Massachusetts in 1834, remarked that if there be any

truth which a large survey of human experience justifies us in asserting, it is that in proportion as a government is free, it must be complicated. 'Simplicity,' he remarks, 'belongs only to those where *one will governs all.*' He then sets forth the necessity of teaching the science of government as a branch of popular education, which prepares the way for such an understanding of principles as to secure intelligent legislation, forcibly remarking, 'What is the business of education but to fit men to accomplish their duties and their destiny, and who is there among Americans that is not called to the constant performance of political duties and the exercise of political privileges?'

Taking as a text the paragraph just quoted, as profound as it is patriotic, I would here solicit your attention to this object, so worthy of your earnest consideration, — the education of the rising generation, the proper direction of which is quite as important to the growth of the Church as it is vital to the moral status and safety of the State itself. It is the fountain of good or evil to the body politic in every country.

If the Sunday School is the nursery of the Church, so too the public school is the nursery of the State. 'Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it,' and 'Just as the twig is bent the tree's inclined,' are maxims verified in all time and true in every relation of life.

Now, while we are justly proud of our public-school system in bringing education free within every person's grasp (all honor to its originators and those who so zealously administer its affairs), yet we must not forget that knowledge without moral training too often sharpens the intellect for evil as well as for good, as '*Heaven's blest beam turns vinegar more sour.*' President Porter, in his able address on education, remarked, '*I know of no way to teach morality but through religion.*' When the State assumes the responsibility of educating the rising generation, and practically, to a large extent, supplements parental duties in the direction of forming the character of our youth, influenced so largely as they are by school training and school association, we should see to it that the system, the teachers, and the teaching should be worthy of so important and far-reaching a trust.

It is a discouraging fact that while our public schools are spreading in every city, town, and hamlet with wonderful progress, the statistics of crime are not diminished, but on the contrary, the records of our criminal courts show a most alarming increase of criminals as compared with the increase of population; and this, too, not only with foreign but with native-born population also, — especially crimes against property, and a reckless disregard of laws regulating suffrage and social restraint generally.

These political crimes are the more alarming because so readily condoned for party reasons by men of respectable standing. Our judicial

machinery offers but a feeble bar to the increase of fraud and corruption. Defects of statute law, legal delay, red-tape, pigeon-holing indictments, and the corrupt personal influence of rich criminals or those of party importance leave only the poor and friendless criminal open to prompt trial and conviction.

The other class simply evade trial by a visit to Canada, that refuge of criminals pending the efforts of their friends to delay the prosecution till witnesses are scattered or bought off, — to use the language of an old obituary, 'God knows the rest, so does the Devil.'

The modern education of our public schools seems to supply scholastic and other means to evade the punishment, but not to deter from crime. There is therefore a manifest defect in the moral training which develops this great increase of crime, the means of education being so wide-spread and acceptable to the people.

Nor does it appear that the system has been as productive of prominent men in New England and the Eastern States, the very centre of free-school influence, as the success at the West, where the system is less developed. General Pope, in his interesting article in the *North American Review*, informs us that 'At the close of the civil war, the President, Vice-President, Chief-Justice, all the cabinet officers, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the first and second generals of the victorious Union Army, and the admirals of the navy, — in short, every government official, civil and military, — were Western men; and further, notwithstanding her boasted free schools, New England during that period produced no great general or commanding statesman.' The spread of knowledge, therefore, by the public schools in the East has either dwarfed the intellect of their public men, or created a prejudice against learning as an element of official advancement in public life.

Now, gentlemen, I am of the opinion that this decadence of the moral influence of our school training is largely, if not wholly, attributable to the banishment of the Bible from our public schools, and consequently the loss of the moral influence Christian education formerly more or less ingrafted on the minds of the scholars by teachers recognizing their moral duty and measurably supplying the absence of parental influence.

You, gentlemen, have enjoyed the advantage of this Christian influence at school, based on the authority of the Bible and the doctrines of your Church, from which flow the great principles of constitutional freedom and the essential moral instincts which have hitherto marked the American character. A distinguished judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, commenting on the origin and basis of our jurisprudence, remarked that 'one of the beautiful boasts of our municipal jurisprudence is that Christianity is a part of the common law from which the sanction of rights and by which we endeavor to regulate its doctrines.'

There never has been a period in which the common law did not recognize Christianity as lying at its foundation.

This common law, based on the established customs of England, has been ranked as the perfection of human wisdom, but is now superseded by American jurisprudence,—a code disregarding those ephemeral and often barbarous customs of antiquity, sweeping away the Divine rights of kings, — and the doctrines of non-resistance and passive obedience, and resting its legal principles on the wise State authority of Divine truth and justice. The Levitical law of Moses, the Pandects of Justinian, the common law of Blackstone, have yielded in succession to the advance of civilization; and we have now reached the foundation of justice and equity in our own age and country by a full recognition of Christian principles as expounded by Marshall, Kent, Story, and Field. The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by JESUS CHRIST.

I cannot resist here quoting a paragraph or two from the speech of Franklin in the Convention of the founders of our government while discussing the articles of our organic law. It appears that four or five weeks of discussion had taken place without any progress in the great work of forming that miracle of political wisdom, the Constitution of the United States, in the language of the most distinguished English statesman, ‘The most perfect instrument which the wit of man has devised.’

Franklin then arose and said: ‘We have gone back to ancient history for models of government, and examined different republics, which, having been originally formed with the seeds of their own dissolution, now no longer exist, and we have viewed modern States all around Europe, but find none of their Constitutions suitable to our circumstances. . . . I have lived, sir, a long time, and the longer I live the more convincing proofs I see of the truth that God governs in the affairs of men; and if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without His notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without His aid?’

‘We have been assured, sir, in the Sacred Writings that “except the LORD build the house their labour is but lost that build it.” I firmly believe this; and I also believe that without His concurring aid we shall succeed in this political building no better than the building of Babel. . . .

‘I therefore beg leave to move that henceforth prayers imploring the assistance of Heaven and its blessings on our deliberations be held in this Assembly every morning before we proceed to business, and that one or more of the clergy of this city be requested to officiate in that service.’

The Convention passed this unanimously. I would here commend the reading of Franklin’s entire speech on this interesting subject to those

who are sceptical as to religious training in schools. Franklin viewed this subject from the standpoint of a liberal philosophy, and cannot be accused of narrow sectarianism. The learned sceptic, Renan, tells us that 'to tear the name of CHRIST out of history would be to rend the world to its foundation.'

Apart from its inspiration, the Bible, as a text-book, is peculiarly adapted for the schools of a republic. Its doctrines inculcate the absolute equality of man, and it is a bulwark against intolerance and despotism of every description. It is unrivalled in the field of knowledge, the very foundation of liberal education, containing, as it does, the earliest codes of laws, by Moses, the philosophy and wisdom of Solomon, the Divine poetry of Isaiah and David, the logic and eloquence of S. Paul, and crowning all, the fountain of all wisdom and love, the Sermon on the Mount by our SAVIOUR.

It was the general introduction of the popular translation of the Bible among all classes of the public which opened the way to the Reformation, the harbinger of civil rights as well as of the religious liberty which we now enjoy.

Up to the eighteenth century the Bible doctrine in its purity had but a limited influence in civil matters ; a theology more or less perverted by sectarian influence, not always in the spirit of the Gospel, and yet affecting the spiritual at the expense of all civil duties, prevailed. The practical necessities of humanity in time developed the necessity of harmony and co-operation in the great march of civilization, for it cannot be doubted that a civilization not based on Christianity contains the elements of its own destruction. The learning of the encyclopedists, the eloquence and philosophy of the astute statesmen of France, and the worship of reason failed to maintain a government of philosophers, because they ignored religion as the guide of her civil policy.

And yet we have time-serving demagogues who have conspired to take from our public schools the Bible, — the very basis of religious civilization ; and we have feeble Christians who consent to the desecration.

This atheistical feeling has invaded the judiciary of the West by decreeing in one of their courts that *the reading of the Scriptures in the public schools is unconstitutional*. One is at a loss to decide as to the Christian status of the organic law of the State, or the ignorance of the judge who wrote the decree ; at any rate, the popular effect of such opinions is quite obvious in some of our Western cities by the dangerous prevalence of socialism and anarchy.

It is erroneous, in my judgment, to charge the removal of the Bible from our public schools to the influence of Roman Catholics in our own State. It is true that they object to the reading of our English translation of the Bible to Roman Catholic children, and contend that the Roman Catholic translation should be used for their children in the

public schools ; but I cannot recall a single instance where they have favored discontinuing the reading of the Bible altogether.

On the contrary, some ten years ago, at —, a very earnest Roman Priest addressed a letter to the School Commissioner of that town objecting to the removal of the Protestant Bible from the public school. I subjoin an extract which, in my judgment, fairly states the matter in controversy and proves that Roman Catholics do not favor banishing the Bible from our schools. It refers to a petition which had been denied, asking to have provision made for reading the Roman Catholic Bible and prayers to the Roman Catholic scholars. He writes : 'The second object of this letter is of greater gravity. It is the apprehension that your Board may unfortunately take occasion from the petition to do away altogether with the reading of the Bible and prayer in the school. You know that there have been evil-minded men who gave to the petition, even in this town as well as in the neighboring city, the unwarranted interpretation of hostility to the Bible in the school. You know also from the express wording and plain sense of the petition that no such hostility existed ; that it not only did not wish the Bible thrown out, but that on the contrary it desired it kept in the school, both for Protestants and for Catholics. This wish I now renew, and beg your Board to *retain the Protestant Bible and Protestant prayers* for the Protestant children, and this even if you do not feel warranted in the present prejudiced state of public opinion in permitting the Catholic Bible and Catholic prayers for Catholic children under approved Catholic teachers. Catholics are willing to yield, although not renounce some of their rights, if they can thereby save the school from losing its Christian character and prevent it from putting on the garb of godlessness. I believe that without exception every Protestant parent and Protestant minister in the town will heartily agree with me in this. And if the parents of the children, both Protestant and Catholic, wish the Bible and prayer in the school, what shadow of right would your Board have in throwing them out ?'

In a further protest addressed to the Protestant parents of the town, he writes, 'Just one year after this salutary warning and timely protest, on the most frivolous pretence, without any consultation with you (the people), against your wishes and with a high-handed absoluteness bordering on despotism, the Bible is thrown out of school, depriving it of the little Christian character it had, and leaving it simply *a godless school*.' I give these extracts as an example that politics, and not the Roman Catholics, are mainly responsible for the absence of the Bible in our schools.

It is to the disgrace of Christian influence that the Bible is ostracized from our public schools,— the acknowledged text-book of Christian morals and of worldly wisdom ; the authentic history of our race in the past ; the promise of our salvation in the future. It is shameful that a

mere difference of opinion on the part of two classes of Christians as to the relative rendering of the translations, either of which both parties agree sets forth a true rule of life and an inspired history of our race, differing only in matters of theology and Church polity, should be ignored altogether as a text-book in our public schools, in a Protestant community recognizing the translation which for centuries has furnished the ground of faith and practice, — the very foundation of Christian civilization, Christianity being a part of the common law (as decided by Judge Story), under which our property and our persons are protected. Indeed, it is admitted by all schools of philosophy and of morals that the Bible of either translation, apart from its Divine authenticity, is the fountain of the highest human philosophy, in which Hume and the most profound sceptics of his school of thinking have concurred, and from which Milton, Bacon, Shakespeare, and Locke have drawn their highest inspiration. How far a compromise can be effected by a division of the schools to enable each class of Christians to enjoy such translations of the Bible as their theologians claim to be authentic, is a problem in our politics, of pressing interest as a political issue, which cannot be evaded. We are of Protestant origin and rejoice in a Protestant civilization, and while conceding to every citizen, foreigner or native, the full enjoyment of his religion, yet we cannot consent to subordinate our schools to influences openly and avowedly for the destruction of that faith which has hitherto conserved our political and religious freedom. Nor are we prepared to withdraw the Protestant Bible from our schools as a placative political offering or a measure of defence against the fancied or actual danger of Papal propagandism. The future of our country concerns the whole world. We afford an asylum for the poor and oppressed of every nation, and ingraft on religious and political liberty the perfect ascendancy of law and order; and our public-school system must keep this mission permanently before it.

A popular and a proper movement has been made for flying the flag of our country over every schoolhouse as an emblem and an incentive to patriotism and loyalty to our republican institutions. Surely, if the State may inculcate political doctrines into the minds of its youth in conformity to the institutions of their fathers by setting before their eyes the flag of their country, it cannot be out of harmony with this laudable effort to keep before their minds also the Bible and the religion of their fathers. The Protestant religion is the fountain from which constitutional freedom is derived, and which the Anglo-Saxon race has permanently ingrafted on the governments of the two greatest nations on the earth. The classic mythology of Greece and Rome, of lax social morality, and the philosophy and atheism which produced the Reign of Terror in the French Revolution, or any modification of them as a reign of reason or with German mysticism added, may serve for the amusement

of the scholar and the education of the historian, but are defective textbooks for the training of American youth. The theory of our public-school system is the care of the moral and intellectual development of the future citizen. To this end the State provides him books, stationery, implements, and teachers, — not to propagate or suppress any form of sectarian religion, but simply to perpetuate the institutions of the country, and develop its material, mental, and moral resources.

The accession by immigration and the rapid growth in our population of a large class of Christians holding the essentials of Christian morals like ourselves, but differing radically in theology, — an earnest element comprising a large body of influential citizens whose respectability and political power cannot be ignored, — this class demand that the children of their Communion shall have their own translation of the Bible and their own form of prayers read to them in the exercises of the schools. It is difficult to deny this right to a body of citizens who are compelled to contribute to the support of these schools, without coming in conflict with arguments which we all deem conclusive against taxing dissenters in support of a State Church. Public schools, under the direction of the State, differ only in the limited extent of theological influence in public schools, as compared with the greater theological influence of the Church by the State which, under our government, has for the mutual advantage of both been abolished. Our public-school system must not be antagonized by being driven on one hand into taxation without benefit, or on the other of abolishing the most valuable feature of its public utility in an attempt to avoid the impending theological controversy.

I must confess I have always favored the spread of parochial schools when Church and secular education go hand in hand, — when religious training and parental influence and co-operation are kept in harmony. Parochial schools, however, can only exist to a moderate extent in co-operation with our public schools, by which the State must hope to purge itself of that impending evil of increasing ignorance and pauperism which unregulated foreign emigration is pouring in upon the country to the dismay of all thoughtful citizens at this time.

As our public schools are a means to an end, and that end all parties agree is pre-eminently political, rather than a religious one, and certainly not intended to promote or retard the growth of any religious sect, I can perceive no sound reason for prolonging an unprofitable controversy in the schools of the State, more or less menacing the harmony of Christians who neither differ as to the objects and value of a non-sectarian Christian education for their children, nor in the importance of the instrumentality of the Bible for that purpose. Any concerted attempt to proselyte or starve out those who may differ from us in religious views is not only contrary to the very foundation and genius of our form of

government, but experience has shown that the persecuted faith is built up thereby ; and a cohesion originating for protection in time becomes itself dangerously aggressive.

If our Hebrew fellow-citizens desire to have their translation of the Old Testament read, and our Roman Catholic citizens that of their Bible for the edification and moral influence of their children, — both text-books teaching the highest morality, — in common with our Bible, I cannot perceive how this can be denied, without impairing their rights as citizens, to the exercise of that equality in our public schools which is guaranteed by the genius of our institutions, civil or religious.

Laws should be made to conform to the spirit as well as the letter of our Constitution, and also from time to time be modified as the relations of citizens are changed to each other. The early settlement of Maryland gave the ascendancy to the Roman Catholic population, that of New England Puritan, and of Virginia the English Church ; but as population increased all by emigration, the early habits and regulations of religious organizations had to give way to change of sentiment ; and while our public schools at first were chiefly filled by Protestant children, latterly they are largely the educational medium of our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens, in this State at least. I have never been able to perceive any sound reason for refusing to distribute the public-school funds *pro rata* with the number of scholars taught by any religious organization. When public funds are set apart for such a public purpose as the education of the rising generation, certainly the object should **only** be to make the education as fruitful and advantageous as practicable. Therefore, when the States determine to exercise the function of educating, no bar should interfere with the religious conscience of those for whom the instruction is intended.

If the statutes connected with the public schools were so modified as simply to give to any parochial or other religious organism of any denomination a *pro rata* portion of the school fund according to the number of scholars actually attending such school during the current year, under the direction and inspection of the State Commissioners as to discipline and studies, but leaving to the respective sects or Churches the exercise of every form of Christian faith and practice consistent therewith, so that the present organization of the public schools shall continue to meet the wants of the public as they now do, but having the Bible as a text-book, in my judgment this would induce a generous competition for a higher scholarship and moral training generally, as between these voluntary parochial schools and that of the public, as well as between the parochial schools themselves, which would also offer the public the advantage of the clerical and religious supervision as compared with officials of political and partisan appointment.

This plan, too, would relieve the State of large expenditures for school-

houses and other charges which these schools would meet themselves ; and in order to make less complication in distributing these funds, it might be required that not less than schools of a hundred pupils or some larger number should participate in sharing the school fund.

This plan of *co-operation* I once submitted to the late Governor Robinson during his official tenure at Albany, who had been himself a teacher in our public schools, and took a vital interest in public education. He said he fully concurred in the feasibility of such a plan, and, with some practical modifications, it would be the very best mode of settling the controversy, and of conforming to the objects of the State ; but that the politicians, some from prejudice and others from partisan fear, would not at that time sustain the policy which would (without reason) be denounced as an attack on the public schools. How many good institutions have been destroyed by a refusal to accept friendly reform to meet exigencies of inevitable danger !

Be this as it may, our public schools must be maintained in all their vigor, with the Bible as the foundation of instruction. Apart from the absence in our public schools of moral training, so obvious by the increase of crime, we have also a marked decadence and a pronounced aversion to all the industrial pursuits of common life on the part of those for whose benefit free schools were originated. It would seem that industry and probity are no longer inculcated as the manly virtues of American citizenship. The necessity and dignity of labor in a *republic of equals* is kept in the background ; and the young pupil's mind is fired with the delusive aspirations of mental superiority and personal ambition for social and public ascendancy, even regardless of pecuniary and mental incapacity, or the stern requirements of personal labor for subsistence. It has become rare to find a graduate of our public schools engaged in any mechanical avocation, and still more rare to find a female graduate even of the humblest capacity willing to accept service in a domestic family. Even in the rural districts, farmers' daughters, sharing this false view of labor, vacate their domestic duties at home to be filled by Irish immigrants, while they gravitate to our cities and towns with ill-paid avocations and dangerous associations quite unfitting them for the dignity and usefulness of the future wives of respectable men, and mothers of a race of American freemen, — certainly a dangerous innovation into our hitherto high-toned rural life, the pride of our civilization, from which so many of our distinguished citizens have originated.

Without foreign emigration our industrial arts would be paralyzed for want of labor, and under our present school training the second generation will diminish the supply of those who are willing to perform manual labor, so much needed, while increasing largely professional and political aspirants, regardless of incapacity and inability, greatly in excess of public

necessity, adding nothing to the dignity or usefulness of the professions they aspire to, but demonstrating the truth of the lines, —

A little learning is a dangerous thing;
Drink deep, or not at all, of the Pierian spring.

This great American institution, extending the blessings of free education to every one, so important to every interest, should not be perverted by a false system of teaching, which tends to undermine our social and economic system, by exaggerating mental at the expense of moral power, intellectual pursuits at the expense of the dignity, importance, and necessity of manual labor for those educated at public expense. Public education is not only intended to remove individual ignorance, but as a means of forming the character of the social man; therefore, in a republic of equal rights and privileges, education by the State should not be one of scholarship, but should be limited to such practical branches of learning as shall fit the rising generation for an intelligent discharge of industrial co-operation in the sphere of their respective surroundings, leaving the spur of mental capacity and personal energy as a further means of gratifying personal ambition, — of which Franklin and Lincoln successfully availed themselves, finding manual labor no bar to intellectual progress or the gratification of worthy ambition.

We have, in the school question, as in other phases of our government, grave defects; yet all may be remedied by a more careful attention to our duty as citizens in the various departments of public life by which alone our institution can be preserved.

We have a just right to be proud of our wonderful national progress. Our Revolution secured an independent and free government after a bloody struggle with the greatest power on earth, and our subsequent war with the same gigantic naval power for the empire and freedom of the seas, which we have meanly surrendered, crowned our infant navy with glory and success, and also our successful resistance of civil war, maintaining the integrity of the Union, — the greatest military contest of modern times, — and last, but not least, the moral victory in the reconstruction of the States and reconciliation of our citizens into a fraternal and a permanent union of hearts and interests in our civil affairs which, *to the credit of our Church, has never been suspended in our Communion farther than military lines had temporarily obstructed the relation.*

Yet the great commonwealth of Rome, after subduing half the world, and dictating laws and extending civilization to her conquests, fell a victim to her own success by the introduction of luxury and indolence in public affairs, and their offshoot, corruption, which originated and fostered ambitious demagogues; and we have reason to profit by the example.

The institutions and liberties of that republic fell a victim largely to

the nations it had subdued, and we must see to it that American instincts and American constitutional forms of government are not submerged by dangerous and insidious doctrines imported by a too rapid immigration of Socialists and Anarchists of Europe, and the readiness with which our politicians are willing to ingraft their imported doctrines on our industrial, commercial, and social institutions. May it not be prudent to guard against the possibility of an overflow of this disorganizing class, which may put too heavy a strain on the walls of our form of civilization?

We must not rely too much on our form of government. It is perhaps the best adapted — as it is the most original — for the highest development of constitutional freedom; but there is much force in the couplet, —

For forms of government let fools contest,
Whate'er is best administered, is best, —

and we cannot flatter ourselves that our government is now *best administered*.

The rule of majorities — so essential in a republican form of representative government, and for the protection of individual rights — is the conserver of civil liberty, if directed by honest conservative counsels; but it becomes most despotic and oppressive under the dictation of partisan rule and personal corruption of which caucuses in legislation and in party nominations are forcible examples of the growing evil.

History is a chain of cause and effects. The great body of a nation varies very little in the course of years in average morality. A particular virtue or a particular vice occupies public interest from time to time, and gives prominence to the prevailing feeling. Government is now held to be a political, not a business machine, office-seeking the only object for the performance of a citizen's duty. Government is office-filling. Patriotism is seeing that active politicians are rewarded by government offices or lucrative contracts as the prize of efficiency at the polls.

One of our most distinguished party leaders and a United States senator does not hesitate to announce, as a modern political maxim, in rather a sneering manner, that "The Decalogue and the Golden Rule should have no place in a political campaign."

The purest and best administration of republics seems to obtain in their early history, while equality of fortunes prevails among their citizens, and when citizens zealously perform their public duties; but the accumulation of wealth and the enjoyment of luxury gradually estrange them from public life, forgetting the maxim of the Psalmist, '*The hand of the diligent shall bear rule, but the slothful bear tribute.*' We are now realizing, under heavy war-taxation in time of peace, and our tribute to protected monopolies and despotic trusts, that the diligent indeed bear rule and the slothful pay tribute in our time.

The most casual observer perceives that while we are aggregating

wealth as a nation far in excess of any other nation on the earth, yet this wealth is so unequally distributed as to make the rich richer, and the poor poorer ; causing also the discouragement of that enterprising middle class which give tone and energy to professional and business occupations, because the burden of taxation is made to rest under a selfish corporate *protective* system on the labor and enterprises of the country instead of on the realized wealth of the capitalist.

It may be said that this inequality of condition is not wholly a matter of the distribution of the burdens of taxation, but obtains generally in all nations.

But it must not be overlooked that our government was formed by the people and for the people, for protection against the domination of speculative monopolies, and the corrupt use of public money.

The advance of civilization is no doubt in the direction of popular government ; but we must hold firmly to the principles and practices of the founders of our form of a constitutional republic, which may well be said to enlighten the world by our Christian civilization, and has already led the reforms which mark the advance of the nineteenth century in every country. Yet we must not overlook the fact that a nation may become great in its aspect of progress, power, and wealth, while it may be morally sinking into political depravity.

There is no want of capable men of probity for the discharge of official duties ; but the machine politicians, on whom the selection devolves, naturally select their own class or those subservient to them. We are certainly passing into our second century under discouraging auspices. If practical politics is to foster corruption and misrule, our republic, the noblest ideal of civilization, will fall a victim to the imbecility of the people.

The late Dr. Washburn, in an eloquent sermon on this subject, delivered in Calvary Church just before his death, spoke plainly on this subject : 'We may well tremble,' he remarked, 'as we receive the proofs within these few years of the unblushing sins that have disgraced our Congress ; the hucksters high and low have made merchandise of our national honor. And are these things outside the thought or the stern rebuke of a Christian pulpit ?'

I close in the words of S. Paul to the Corinthians : Watch ye ; stand fast in the faith ; quit ye like men ; be strong.

No man can complain that Colonel Lathers' indictment of the political corruptionists of our country is drawn in too severe language. Words will always fail of expressing the contempt good people have for those who seek, like vultures, to live off the body politic.

There are two questions considered by the writer that have

been steadily coming before the American people for more than half a century, — the Bible in the public schools, and a just distribution of public money for educational purposes. The Lutherans are having a hand-to-hand conflict in certain localities of the West over the former, and the Romanists have been laying their plans for years with a view to their own interests in the distribution of the latter. What Colonel Lathers has to say in regard to both of these questions may sound like rank heresy in an American citizen, but the thoughtful and observing long since must have come to the same conclusion.

We must remember that first of all this is a Christian country, as has been more than once proved by able writers in the CHURCH REVIEW. From the petty country justice's court up through every branch of the judicial and legislative departments of the State to the Senate and Supreme Court of the national government, JESUS CHRIST, the Son of GOD, is recognized and revered. In nearly all the Constitutions of the several States, a future state of rewards and punishments is set forth. This government, in its various judicial and legislative departments, has never recognized but one version of the Word of GOD, and that is neither a Protestant nor a Roman Bible, but the Bible brought to these shores by our fathers, and it was given to them by the Church of England, which is neither Protestant nor Roman. The Bible thus received has ever been considered the great moral instructor in human as well as Divine affairs. It has been appealed to as such in the civil and criminal courts, on the political platform, and in the State and National halls of legislation. As such it should have a place in every public school in the United States and Territories. First divest this great Republic of its Christian character before the attempt is made to remove the Bible from its public schools, where it can teach with Divine authority what the blessings of civil and religious liberty are, and that, too, while the youthful mind is yet pure.

We most heartily indorse what our author has said about private and parochial schools. The day is not distant when the great religious bodies in this country will gather their children into private or parochial schools. This it is their simple duty to do. If in such schools particular versions of the Holy Scriptures are taught, it concerns only the parents who commit their children to them for instruction. The State should see

that the children in such schools are properly taught the rudiments of a liberal education; no one has yet shown why, under such conditions, each child should not receive his or her share of the fund raised for the education of the children enjoying the freedom and protection of the State, whether native or foreign born. We are glad to open the discussion of these three great questions,—a Christian man's duty to the State; the place the Bible should have in our public schools; and the proper division of money raised for educational purposes; and we are glad to have introduced so able and fearless a champion as Colonel Lathers has proved himself to be. We shall welcome contribution for and against the theories that have been herein set forth, until we have arrived at a knowledge of the truth.

HENRY MASON BAUM.

Contemporary Literature.

Brief Reviews.

GOD in His World. An Interpretation. New York: Harper and Brothers.

WHEN Bulwer-Lytton wrote his *Zanoni* he was deluged by an immense correspondence asking for the interpretation of its mysteries. Many writers, not a few among them being men of eminence, even went so far as to send a "Key to *Zanoni*." We wish the anonymous author of *GOD in His World* had given us a key to his treatise. He calls it "An Interpretation," but it is a poor interpretation that needs interpretation.

The style of the work is vague and misty. We had hoped such style had gone out of fashion. It came into vogue with the renewed study of German literature, and has plagued simple folks who are quite satisfied with plain English long enough. The superabundance of long words, technical terms, and long-drawn-out sentences awe our shallow teachers; and the cry goes up, "How beautiful!" "How grand!" "How learned!" or "How deep!"

In the midst of this noisy chorus the plain matter-of-fact thinker stands back waiting till he can get an honest answer to his question, "What in plain English does the man mean?" Often enough such query is sufficient to set the chorus replying not by the desired explanation, but by fresh exclamations of admiration. This work has received much comment. We do not know whether the time has yet come for us to ask of it, "What does it mean in plain English?" or whether such a question will be scouted as showing the ignorance and stupidity of the asker. At all hazards, however, we do ask the question.

We get in the first section of the Introduction a reason for the unintelligibility of the whole work. We are told the work was undertaken without previous thought and with no endeavor to reach a definite conclusion. As far as we can understand the following absurdly worded sentence, the writer seems to have written just what came into his head.

"It cannot be said that it was of compulsion, since it is only in an absolutely free movement that one is caught and carried forward, as if independently of all self-determination, to an issue of which there is no

prevision," p. i. On the other hand, here is a beautiful passage clothed in understandable English.

CHRIST was human, but there could be no miracle so impressive as the fact that, being human, He yet reversed all the processes of a universally perverted nature. He spoke our speech, but in His utterances all the ordinary currents of a human thought gone wrong and turned awry were reversed, so that His sayings contradicted every maxim of human experience, even as does Nature when we comprehend her Divine meanings. . . . An utterance of the LORD, heard for the first time, is to the human consciousness as much a surprise as is the first seen blossoming of a flower (§ xv. p. xxx).

We have dwelt too long perhaps on the Introduction, yet we have done so with the hope of finding a key to the interpretation. We fancy we have found it amid the labyrinthine maze of words,—a Christian pantheism. We may be doing the author injustice, yet that is what it appears to us to be,—an attempt to show that Nature (by that we mean the material world and its material phenomena) is the outward form of CHRIST. It is an endeavor to reconcile Positivism, Materialism, Pantheism, and the Historical CHRIST, and form them into one system.

"The realism of our Christian Faith gives catholicity, binding us up with Nature in a covenant including every living creature and uniting all men in one brotherhood" (§ xix. p. xxxvi).

To put the matter plainly, it is an attempt, while apparently doing homage to CHRIST and to certain venerable and venerated Christian phraseology, to set up a new CHRIST. It is an insidious attempt to set up an empty Christianity in the market-place of the world. It is an attempt to restore an optimistic Paganism by calling it Christianity, and by retaining Christian terminology. Such we conceive to be the aim of this anonymous writer as shadowed forth in his Introduction. Let us now pass on to the work itself.

We are met at the outset with a plentiful use of the term "Divine." We wish we had been furnished with a key as to the meaning of that epithet. Is it the holy life, or the life that is Divine because lived after the pattern of the Divinity, or is it the life that partakes of the Divinity? Will some one give us the key to this sentence?—"It is a simple vital truth that the Divine life has its ultimate type in the conscious individual soul." The sentence by itself or in the work of an orthodox writer would be taken as enunciating the truth that the Divine life—that is, the life of CHRIST—has its ultimate type in such human life. But that is far from the meaning of our writer, since he declares we each have the "Divine life." Again, is this nonsense, or does it enshrine some sterling sense our dull wits fail to grasp?—"Life is your master, Beloved; and yielding to this mastery, with open heart leaning thereunto, ye shall be filled with life and shall be satisfied,—ye shall be folded in the bosom of Everlasting Love" (p. 2).

"Divine life," whatever that may mean, is our master, and yielding to that mastery we shall be filled with life, — what does that mean? How can a living being yield to life? How can a living being be filled with life? How can he add to his stock of life? Does the writer simply mean that if we pay regard to the laws of hygiene, we shall be in good health and thus be satisfied?

And whatever may be the meaning of the first part of the sentence, what is meant by being "folded in the bosom of Everlasting Love"? Does he mean that when mortal life has ceased we are absorbed again in the Deity? If so, death supervenes when we yield to the mastery of life!

We could go on filling page upon page of such sentences, but we will only give a few of a different nature, all taken from the Introduction.

In section vii. p. xix we come across this sentence, which sounds very fine; but what does it mean? "The new life of the regenerate is a full disclosure of human degeneration." It is either nonsense, or else the falsest of theology. Here is a mischievous use of theological terms. We are told (§ vii.), "The loving human fellowship is the real Divine communion," and that in this "real fellowship" we have the "Real Presence" (§ viii.); "Revelation is of no value to us" (§ xiii.). What does the writer mean by the following sentences? — "Apart from the Incarnation there is the Everlasting CHRIST" (§ ix. p. xxii.); or by "The Nature — CHRIST the Eternal Son, revealing the FATHER — is in no wise prevented or interrupted by the CHRIST-Nature, the Incarnate Word, but is continued and completed thereby" (§ xiii. p. xxviii.); "Our LORD would seem less than Nature if He had not continued and completed this unfolding of truth for all flesh" (§ xiv. p. xxix.).

We have said enough, we think, to justify our criticism of this work; but the reader must not think these are exceptional passages. Almost every page will yield one or more sentences either enigmatically worded or else unsound in theology. The writer, it is evident on every page, is not a Churchman. If we should hazard a guess we should say that he belongs neither to the Church nor to any of the denominations; that he was brought up with no definite ideas as to religion; that he has read much in a desultory way, and in view of the loud cry there is among the few that Nature and Religion as revealed in Holy Writ are antagonistic, he has endeavored in an eclectic fashion to reconcile Nature as revealed by science and the Gospels. He has thus produced a hybrid, — neither science nor theology. The interpretation we put on his Interpretation is that he wishes to show that it is possible to believe in CHRIST if we take Nature as the embodiment of the Eternal Word.

Sometimes we think the writer has had in view the production of a work on the pattern of the incomparable *Imitation of CHRIST*; instead, however, of being an *Imitatio Christi*, it is an *Imitatio Naturae*.

"For Christ and City!" Liverpool Sermons and Addresses. By CHARLES WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Rector of Wavertree. London and New York : Macmillan and Company.

We have here seven discourses. They lack the literary polish to be called essays ; they lack the spirituality and devotion to be called sermons ; therefore we call them by that neutral term, discourses. The first is a plea for a local charity in Liverpool. We fail to see any reason for its publication. The second, entitled a "Good Citizen," is a general eulogium on Sir James Picton, which again is of no more than local interest. The third has for title, "The Social Creed of the Church," and was suggested by the Lambeth Encyclical on Socialism. We have here better stuff than in the first two discourses. The writer points out that the present selfishness of both capitalist and laborer is due to the doctrine of individualism. He rightly sees that the only remedy for the present distress is the reiteration of the doctrine of the Incarnation. He curiously, however, omits to point out that Socialism is the logical development of Protestantism, though it is the inevitable inference of what he does say. The fourth discourse is a panegyric on J. Frederick Denison Maurice ; the fifth, on the English Church and Historic Continuity, is weak with many phrases suggestive of error. He is distinctly wrong in fact, when he says that the threefold ministry of the Church cannot be traced farther back than the end of the third century. "Church Comprehension and Reform" is the heading of the sixth ; and when we should expect something practical and definite in the way of advice, we get nothing but a gird at the Thirty-Nine Articles, with a misapplication of the last Lambeth Encyclical on the subject. The writer is unable to grasp the idea of a Church uncontrolled by the State ; he wants a dominant lay element in it, but fails to tell us how that is to be effected. He appears to cast a longing eye on the lay domination in the Presbyterian system, but is apparently unconscious of its being perhaps the main cause of the failure of Presbyterianism. One thing he seems to be quite clear upon ; that is, that when Church reform comes, it will be "through a royal commission and Parliament." To that we can only say that if there is one thing certain, Church reform will never come by that means. It never came thus in the past ; indeed, all the evils in England have come through the act of Parliament. It never thus came under Elizabeth, nor under the Long Parliament, nor under the Georges. The Evangelical movement and the Catholic revival effected all the good and all the reform they did in the teeth of Parliament and royal commissions. The last discourse is one on the past year's work in the writer's parish. We have read scores of such addresses, and in thousands of Churches in England wise and effective work is going on in no way inferior to that which we trust is going on at Wavertree ; we therefore do not see the necessity of publishing such an annual address. It looks too

much like an advertisement. Of advertising we have unfortunately too much ; most of our weekly Church papers are taken up with columns of puffs sent in all probability by the rectors themselves, if the truth was known. Advertising may suit the market-place, but it ought to be sternly discountenanced in God's house or by His Priest.

The Book of Exodus. By the Very Rev. G. A. CHADWICK, D.D., Dean of Armagh. New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son.

This is one of the promised volumes for 1890 of the series known as **THE EXPOSITOR'S BIBLE**. The Dean of Armagh rightly states in his Preface that "one thing can neither be doubted nor denied: JESUS CHRIST did certainly treat this book, taking it as He found it, as possessed of spiritual authority, a Sacred Scripture. He taught His disciples to regard it thus, and they did so." The Dean is equally right in his endeavor throughout this volume to exhibit the Old Testament in the light of the New. We have thus a valuable and orthodox exposition. For a preacher's use we think the volume rather diffuse, if the object is merely to provide material for sermons. We are, however, inclined to think this series to be of more value for general reading, lay and cleric, than as mere storehouses for sermons. In this case a diffuse treatment is essential, else the volumes would be like collections of proverbs or encyclopædias, never read throughout.

The Gospel of St. Matthew. By JOHN MONRO GIBSON, D.D. New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son.

This is another of the series of **THE EXPOSITOR'S BIBLE**; and to it may be applied the concluding remarks on the volume by Dean Chadwick. Yet it must be borne in mind that while a diffusiveness is permissible and indeed necessary in an exposition of a book like that of Exodus, such a diffusiveness is out of place in an exposition of a Gospel unless the diffusiveness partakes of the nature of illustration of manners and customs, or of a patristic commentary on the LORD's words. A moment's reflection will show that the greatest care and sobriety of language is needed when a writer enlarges on the facts of our SAVIOUR's life and on His words. Fluency is to be deplored rather than welcomed. Unfortunately Dr. Gibson has forgotten this truism, and the consequence is that while we have much that is readable and entertaining in this exposition, we have likewise much that would have been better left unsaid. We admit that it is hard to expound a Gospel by itself; but we maintain that such a feat is unnecessary, and that on the contrary one Gospel cannot be expounded without constant reference to the other three. Dean Chadwick was not slow in interpreting much of the book of Exodus by the light of the New Testament, and in that he was theologically sound. What writer on the Sacraments would omit taking into consideration

the marvellous sixth chapter of S. John's Gospel? One Gospel, as Dr. Gibson himself rightly points out, supplements the other.

There is besides a constant attempt to give the motives actuating the different apostles and disciples, which we cannot but deplore. The Gospel gives us facts, very rarely accounting for them, and still more rarely giving us the motives which prompted the deed. Dr. Gibson, however, fills in the canvas which the sacred writer left blank; and the consequence is that the reader feels irritated rather than instructed, owing to his inability to attribute the same motives to the different personages which Dr. Gibson does.

A Son of Issachar: A Romance of the Days of Messias. By ELBRIDGE S. BROOKS. London and New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

We are not in favor of romances dealing with the sacred personages mentioned in Holy Writ. We deem it wiser and more reverent not to attempt to lift the veil which it has pleased God to draw across all which is unrecorded in the Scriptures. An additional objection against this romance is that it flouts all tradition and is at complete variance with the received interpretation of the events recorded in connection with our LORD's history by the Evangelists.

The son of Issachar is a certain camel-driver of the city of Nain, who is fired by ambition by Judas Iscariot to become once more a prince in Israel. He is assassinated by Herod's orders, and left dead at his mother's door. He is then represented to be the widow of Nain's son brought to life by our Blessed LORD. After various adventures he kills the centurion whose servant the LORD healed, is the ruler with many possessions who asked of the LORD what he should do to inherit eternal life, smites off the servant's ear in the garden of Gethsemane, is the first to ask for the release of Barabbas instead of the SAVIOUR, marries the daughter of Jairus, and changing his name to Stephen, dies as the holy deacon, S. Stephen.

Besides all these numerous inconsistencies and historical impossibilities, our artistic (putting aside our reverent) feelings are outraged at this vulgarizing of persons we have looked upon as hitherto free from all such profane touch.

After having made a murderer and a traitor of the poor widow of Nain's son, the author of this romance proceeds to whitewash Barabbas, and to erect Judas Iscariot into an ambitious patriot who betrayed our LORD to give Him an opportunity of magnifying His glory and His power.

Such a book in the hands of the young and of the vast mass of persons who know not their Bible will do positive harm, by filling their minds with a false idea of the details of the Gospel history.

We think Mr. Brooks has some literary ability, and possibly, had he

chosen to write about some period of purely profane history, his romance might have been acceptable.

Marie Antoinette and the End of the Old Régime. By IMBERT DE SAINT-AMAND. Translated by THOMAS SERGEANT PERRY. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The French excel in memoirs and short biographies, and of the many excellent works of the kind this is one of the best, and the translator has done justice to the sparkling style of the distinguished biographer. A few misprints here and there through the volume are to be regretted; such as, "Greurze" for "Greuze," and "Menues Plaisirs" for "Menus Plaisirs." Some of the idioms are not translated idiomatically, but literally, as, for example, "tours de force" is translated "acts of force," which is as far from the meaning as was the rendering we noticed in a recent translation of the diminute term of endearment, "mon chou," translated literally by "my cabbage," instead of by an equivalent idiom, such as "my pet," or "my dear." "Tours de force" is an idiom derived from the arena or duelling-ground where the wrestler or fencer exhibits his skill rather than his bodily strength. Thus any skilful intellectual achievement is termed a "tour de force."

Passing over these few blemishes, we have in this volume a most interesting and truthful sketch of Marie Antoinette's later years, and of the French society at that period. It is the common impression that the Revolution was justified by the abuses and tyranny of the existing nobles. Common views are generally wrong, and this is no exception to that rule. It would be hard to find during any period of the French history an epoch when the upper classes more ardently desired or more sincerely worked for the improvement of the lower classes, or when the court was purer. Certainly at no time since the Revolution has there been a court as domestic and fond of home-like simplicity as was that of Louis XVI., nor have the upper classes, consisting either of the shoddy aristocracy of the Empires or the foreign plutocracy of later years, shown to any appreciable degree a desire for the amelioration of the working masses.

M. de Saint-Amand is quite right in his estimate of the pre-Revolutionary times. He says, p. 7:—

As M. Taine has justly remarked, never was the aristocracy so worthy of power as at the moment when it was about to lose it. The possessors of privileges had become excellent citizens, worthy, enlightened, charitable managers. They defended the tax-payers from the treasury, suppressed the duty service, multiplied good works, taught the poor, protected agriculture, directed every reform.

Turn to the memorials of the nobility prepared in the bailiwicks on the eve of the states-general, and you will see that they demanded for the French people all the civil and political rights which the Revolutionists pretend to have wrung from them. These great lords, who fought in the war like heroes, and at Versailles so well represented the splendors of the past, were in their own homes the most

amiable of hosts, the most delicate patrons of letters and the arts, the sturdiest supporters of the new ideas. They were rich, but they were generous; they were envied by the ungrateful, but noble hearts blessed them.

Is not the following passage a satire on our own times, standing, as we are, on the brink of a stupendous war in Europe, long delayed but inevitable, and of an anarchic outburst here and in Europe?

'We live in an age of wonders,' exclaimed Bachaumont, in an outburst of enthusiasm. 'We were proud to be Frenchmen,' said the Count of Ségur, 'and prouder still to be Frenchmen of the eighteenth century, which we regarded as the Golden Age restored to earth by the new philosophy.' The fashionable dogma was the unlimited perfectibility of man. No more war! was the general cry. No more tyranny! No more injustice! No more custom-houses! No more prejudices or obstacles or errors! Civilized man, reformed and purified! Society freed! Humanity triumphant! The glorious and peaceful reign of virtue, justice, and liberty! What might not be expected from a country that had produced men like Buffon, Lavoisier, and Montgolfier! [p. 47.]

The telling of the incident of the diamond necklace occupies considerable space, and the memory of the unfortunate queen is amply vindicated, if vindication were needed at this late date.

The two immediate causes of the Revolution were the corruption of the higher clergy, and the superstition of the higher classes as exemplified in the two typical personages, — the Cardinal Rohan, and Cagliostro.

The higher clergy forgot that they were priests of the sacred mysteries in their eagerness to be recognized as great noblemen and courtiers. The educated classes believed in the Devil when they had ceased to believe in GOD.

The pattern of living in the world, but not conforming to the world, was exhibited by many great personages, of whom the saintly Madame Elizabeth was one.

Here is the description of her daily life at twenty-five as quoted from M. de Beauchesne by our biographer: —

'But as soon as she came into the possession of her dear little estate, she spent only the evenings and the nights at Versailles. In the morning she would go to Mass in the chapel of the palace, and then she would at once get into a carriage with one of her ladies to drive to Montreuil. Sometimes she would even walk there. The life she led there was monotonous and like that of the happiest family in a castle a hundred leagues from Paris. The hours for work, for exercise, for reading, in solitude or in company, were carefully appointed. The dinner-hour brought the princess and her ladies together at the same table,' M. de Beauchesne tells us in his life of Madame Elizabeth.

In the same book he adds: 'Later, before returning to court, they would all kneel down in the drawing-room, and in conformity to the habit surviving in some families, would have evening prayers together. Then they would return to the busy palace, at once so near and so remote, and enter their official home with the memory of a happy day filled with work, lightened by friendship, and consecrated by prayer' [p. 141].

Our readers will pardon us for a further extract. It is the shortest way of giving a true impression of this charming biography.

At the Trianon, the Queen, wearing a straw hat, a dress of white muslin, and a gauze neckerchief, watches the milking of the cows, like a farmer's wife. Madame Adelaide takes a violin at a village festival, and in the absence of the fiddler, plays while the peasant women dance. The Duchess of Bourbon goes forth in the morning, incognito, to give alms to the poor in their garrets. The King and the Count of Artois help a wagoner to move his mired wagon [p. 146].

We do not know for what reason the biography stops short with the departure of the King and Queen from Versailles, the 6th of October, 1789. We do not see why the biographer should not have concluded with the description of the death of the noble Queen. The Epilogue, Versailles since 1789, could well have been spared. It is the poorest chapter in the whole volume. However, to all who want to read a truthful account of Marie Antoinette and her times we strongly commend this little volume.

Thiers. By PAUL DE RÉMUSAT. Translated by MELVILLE B. ANDERSON. Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company.

This is one of the volumes forming part of an excellent series entitled, THE GREAT FRENCH WRITERS.

The life of Thiers, by De Rémusat, is a work of standard merit, and needs no commendation from us. It is sufficient to say that the translator has done his part well, and presented to us the terse and epigrammatic sentences of the French writer in good and vigorous English. To those who are unacquainted with the original, we would remind them that this is the standard short biography of the historian of the Empire, and that De Rémusat is a greater master of elegant French than Thiers himself was. It is as if Macaulay had written a biography of Stanhope.

Russia: Its People and its Literature. By EMILIA PARDO BAZÁN. Translated from the Spanish by FANNY HALE GARDINER. Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company.

We have a simple, unpretending account of Russian literature, but all the more valuable because it is simple and unpretending.

To adequately describe the Russian peoples and their literature, would require a set of volumes encyclopaedic in their nature. What was wanted was an unambitious work in which the author was content to touch only upon the salient characteristics of this vast subject, and yet to so connect the thread of the story that it would be readable. In other words, a bird's-eye view of this Russian panorama was required. It is this that our patient authoress has given us.

The work is divided into four portions, — The Evolution of Russia,

Russian Nihilism and its Literature, The Rise of the Russian Novel, and Modern Russian Realism.

For good or for evil, Nihilism is affecting the whole world, and perhaps no country outside of Russia will it affect so strongly as it will our own. For good or for evil the Russian novel is already affecting our ephemeral literature, as it has to a marked degree affected the French.

Under these circumstances a book dealing with Russian literature and the causes of its present aspects comes most opportunely. It will afford us some light by which to examine movements both social and literary which are affecting ourselves. The translator has done her task well; the translation is easy, fluent, and appears to be faithful. We therefore recommend those interested in the perplexing currents that are swaying our national life to read these simply written essays.

The days are past when any portion of this planet is unaffected by literary or social phenomena occurring in another portion of it. Railroads are the great arteries by which the whole earth feels the beat of the human heart.

English Lands, Rulers, and Kings: From Elizabeth to Anne. By DONALD G. MITCHELL. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

When the first volume of these essays, *From Celt to Tudor*, came out, we gave it hearty commendation. What we said of the first in the April REVIEW, p. 294, we repeat of the second, and can only hope that our readers took our advice and purchased the first volume; if they did, we are sure they will purchase the second.

We know of no essays covering the same ground, and it will be long before these will be superseded by others more charming or more entertaining. We trust this is not the last volume, and that we shall have to welcome and commend a third volume, — *From William to Victoria*.

A Short History of Mexico. By ARTHUR HOWARD NOLL. Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company.

Mexico is destined very soon to influence and be influenced by both our State and our Church. It cannot be very long before we shall be called to recognize the fact that Mexico is as strongly patriotic as ourselves, and that it dreads and dislikes much that we pride ourselves on in our Constitution and its workings. So long as we had vast deserts to colonize and populate, we scarcely felt the propinquity of this ancient and feudal civilization. It can safely be said that Mexico has felt much more the influence of our proximity. The successive revolts and changes of government have proved that Mexicans are however beginning to learn the lesson that it is not sufficient to call a government republican to insure its republicanism. We have had to deal with a new population, caused by the constant influx of immigrants. These newcomers have had to accept the government they found. In Mexico

(and in France) the case is far different. There has been no new population, consequently the old population has kept to its own ideas and feelings, no matter what the government was called for the time. In so-called monarchical England there is much more freedom and true republicanism than there ever has been in France. Frenchmen are still governed despotically. The same is true of Mexico, as Mr. Noll repeatedly points out, "where the government has, from the fall of the first empire in 1824, been imperial in form though republican in name, where it has been purely personal, founded upon the military strength of the chief magistrate."

Our Church has also felt the influence of this vast land, alien in thought and feeling to the great majority of Americans; hence we had that disgraceful and humiliating episode of the "Church of JESUS." It would be well for our Church if she had done as much for the people as the Church in Mexico has done for all Mexicans. Well for our Church if instead of finding fault with a sister Church, she would set her own house in order!

For all these reasons natural and ecclesiastical, a short history of Mexico was needed, and in the one before us we have one written lucidly, intelligently, and sympathetically. The best part is that portion of Mexican history which is the least known,—the Viceroy of the Eighteenth Century. It is too much the fashion with the mass of our countrymen to look upon Mexico as a land only just now (thanks to the great Republic of the United States) emerging from barbarism, and to consider Mexicans as heathens from a religious point of view. We fear that if Goldsmith's Chinaman were to visit both countries and give us an impartial description of them, our self-complacency would be rudely shocked. We may, however, pending such a description, each do something toward acquiring an accurate knowledge of our neighbors, so that when we shall enter into closer relations with them politically,—and GOD grant it!—ecclesiastically we may not blunder, through too great self-conceit and ignorance on our part. Mr. Noll's Short History provides material for our instruction; and for that, therefore, and also owing to its sympathetic treatment, we cordially bring it before the notice of our readers as a book that ought to be on all our shelves. Its moderate price, one dollar, places it within the reach of all. After dealing with the Aboriginal Mexico and the development of the Aztec Confederacy, and the so-called "Conquest of Mexico," it goes into the details of the government by military and ecclesiastical governors and by the Viceroy of the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The Treaty of Cordoba, the Regency, the Empire, the Republics, the French intervention, and the succeeding Republic are all dealt with in the last six chapters. We have thus a rapid survey of the whole history of our great neighbor.

Church History. By Professor KURTZ. Authorized Translation from the latest Revised Edition, by the Rev. JOHN MACPHERSON, M.A. Vol. III. New York: Funk and Wagnalls.

We have already noticed the two preceding volumes of this compendious history,—Vol. I. in July, 1889, and Vol. II. in October, 1889; and we can only repeat what we said last July. “No other work that we know of comprises within such a space so much varied information.” This third volume deals with Church history during the last three centuries. The part which seems to us the most important, and perhaps the most trustworthy, is where the author deals with innumerable petty sects that have at various times arisen in Germany. Wherever Professor Kurtz is content to give us plain historical data, his work is invaluable, as by that means he sets the student on the path of finding out what he seeks to know concerning the microscopic events of the sectaries. Whenever Professor Kurtz leaves that domain and proceeds to give us his version of facts or his opinion thereon, his statements inspire the reader with profound distrust, if from no other reason than that illimitable knowledge is given to no man. We conceive it possible for historical data to be gathered concerning the various branches of the Church Catholic and of the different sects, but we deem it impossible for any one man to describe with any degree of truthfulness the views of every school of thought within or without the Church. To attempt to do so is sure to bring disaster. The translator, Mr. Macpherson, has felt it to be his duty to append the following note to Kurtz’s description of the Scottish State Church, p. 372:—

The very confused, wholly inadequate, and in some points positively incorrect statements in the above paragraph may be supplemented and amended by reference to the following literature. [Here follows a list of authorities.]

We feel convinced that such a note would be penned in even perhaps stronger words by a Roman Catholic to the description of his Church, by a Greek, Armenian, or Coptic Churchman, and by members of the various sects, to the description affecting them. We indorse Mr. Macpherson’s note as far as it regards our own branch of the Church Catholic. Not only are positive untruths stated, but the whole tone of the articles betrays only a most superficial acquaintance with the subject-matter.

We deny emphatically the truth of the following statement, and challenge Professor Kurtz for his authority.

Three Anglican Bishops are said to have had Episcopal consecration anew conferred on them by a Greek Catholic Bishop [p. 368].

We defy Professor Kurtz to produce any authority that there ever was even a whisper in England that any Bishop sought fresh consecration from any one.

Nowhere is the reason given why the English ritualists refused to obey the decisions of the Privy Council. Surely the reason is vital to the understanding of their attitude, the reason being that the Privy Council has no spiritual authority.

No adequate description is given of the renewed life of the Church of England, nor of her amazing progress in winning back the nation within her fold. The Papist schism is in Great Britain throughout called the Catholic Church, which is contrary to fact.

As for the American Church, all that we are told about her is said in three lines! —

The Anglican Episcopal Church is equally distinguished by moderate and solid Churchliness. Even here, however, Puseyism has entered in, and the Romish Church has made many proselytes [p. 411].

Will any intelligent American say that this is a sufficient historical summary of our Church? The tiny Cumminsite schism has fourteen lines given it.

The Lutherans in America are a very estimable body of Christians, but who will say that they are the most important? Yet judging by the space given them, an outsider would so consider them. The following is the relative space assigned to the Christian bodies in the United States: Congregationalists two lines, Presbyterians six lines, Anglican Episcopal two lines, Cumminsites fourteen lines, Episcopal Methodists twenty-five lines, Baptists five, Lutheran nearly three pages, or one hundred and four lines, German Reformed twenty lines, and the Romans twenty-one.

Of the vast extension of the Anglican Episcopate since the opening of this century, surely an historical fact of wide-reaching importance, we have no account. Under the head of mission work we find several insignificant societies mentioned, but not a word about the S. P. G. We have looked in the index, and find no reference either to that venerable society or to the S. P. C. K.

With regard to the Jerusalem Bishopric we are told: "In June, 1886, the English Prussian compact was formally cancelled and a proposal made to found an independent Prussian Evangelical Bishopric." It is the first time we have ever heard of a "Prussian Evangelical Bishop," and we wonder what kind of a hybrid he is supposed to be. As a matter of fact and of history the Prussian compact was annulled and no Bishopric of Jerusalem was established, but an Anglican Bishop was sent to Jerusalem, the present Bishop Blyth. Many more inaccuracies could be pointed out relating to our Communion.

If we are thus able to point out inaccuracies relating to the portion of Church history we are acquainted with, and Mr. Macpherson with regard to the Scottish Presbyterian Kirk, the feeling grows on us that each body who is mentioned in this history will be able to do likewise.

Is it right, therefore, in view of all these shortcomings, to condemn this history? No; because as we said of the first volume, "as an aid to investigation the work will be found invaluable." For this we recommend all students of Church history to place these volumes on their shelves. They will find in them what they will find nowhere else; and so long as they bear in mind our caution that "the student must remember that the book is not a storehouse of doctrine or even of facts, but rather of references," they will derive much aid in their researches from these volumes.

HISTORIC TOWNS: *Winchester*. By G. W. KITCHIN, D.D., Dean of Winchester. London and New York : Longmans, Green, and Company.

This is the first of the series of HISTORIC TOWNS we have yet seen. The idea is excellent; and if the others are as well written as this one is by the Dean of Winchester, a most valuable series of works will have been furnished to lovers of English history.

It is not generally known that Winchester for a long while disputed with London the supremacy of being the capital of England. Winchester owed much of her greatness to the remarkable succession of statesmen identified with her early history,— Egbert, who earned his title as "rex totius Britanniae" by winning for Wessex the supremacy over Northumbria and Mercia; S. Swithun, mindful both of peace and war, the builder of bridges and of the fortified wall round Winchester,— an equally wise master-builder for the Church, the same traits being seen in his provision for the Church as for the temporal welfare of the people. Besides providing for the regular and peaceful performance of Divine service, he provided for the warfare of the Church; that is, for its extension throughout the kingdom. In his presence and in that of the Witan, King Æthelwulf laid on the high altar of Winchester Cathedral his "Donation." This "Donation" gave "the tenth part of his lands to God's praise and his own eternal welfare." By this gift the King and the Bishop hoped to secure in all ages not only centres for religious life throughout the kingdom, but that from these centres missionary work should radiate. Who can measure the good to the nation that flowed from this gift? The "Donation" was not a tithe,— that is, a tenth of the produce,— but an actual deed of gift of a tenth of the land itself. Besides providing for the present and for the future of the State and of the Church, Swithun taught and trained Alfred, the noblest of English Kings.

Next in the succession of statesmen comes Alfred. Strong for right, loyal in adversity, true to his people, great in victory as in defeat, conqueror, lawgiver, and statesman, Alfred has left a name in history which Arthur has enjoyed in fiction.

We pardon the pride the Dean of Winchester feels in dwelling on the claims this great king has on the admiration and gratitude of Englishmen. As a lawgiver, it has been pointed out that Alfred in his land laws copied the Mosaic system. As an author, he was the first to give stability to the English language. In his History, or Chronicle, "we have the first vernacular history of a Teutonic people," as Dean Kitchin rightly claims.

As we read it, we stand at the fountain-head of a literature which in breadth, extent, and splendor of masterpieces is surpassed by none. The Peterborough copy, which was carried on till 1154, and then dies out in the middle of a sentence, was the little runnel through which our mother-tongue was safely conveyed through the wilderness of the Norman oppression [p. 15].

To Alfred's court came the learned from every quarter; and the civilizing influence of Winchester radiated far and wide. The bones of Alfred, the Dean informs us, braved the vicissitudes of eight hundred stormy years to disappear forever only when all English traditions were set at nought under the German kings of last century. The corporation of Winchester to build a Bridewell tore down Hyde Abbey; and "the bones of the noblest of English kings disappeared forever."

In the succession of statesmen, to Alfred soon succeeded Dunstan. The greatness of Dunstan is attested by the mass of legends that have clustered round his name, and by the virulence of the abuse he has received. Dunstan may be called the developer of the English Episcopate, as Wilberforce, who succeeded him nine centuries afterward, may be called its restorer.

To Dunstan succeeded Cnut the Conqueror, stern but shrewd, imperial in ambition and in design. To him ere long succeeded a fiercer conqueror, William the Norman, and through the reigns of his quarrelsome sons Winchester still kept her supremacy; but with the Angevin kings dates the final supremacy of London. For many a century yet, her Bishops were foremost at the Council Board of State and Church. The Chancellors or Treasurers of England were oftenest the Bishops of Winchester, and to this day they are the prelates of the Order of the Garter.

John of Stratford, William of Edington, William of Wykeham, Henry of Beaumont, William Patten of Waynflete, Richard Fox, Wolsey, and Gardiner,—all men who have stamped their names with their deeds right across the page of England's history,—are all Winchester men. With Gardiner may be said to have ended the line of statesmen-bishops which Winchester furnished to rule England. Thenceforward her Bishops, no longer so prominent in the State, have yet ever kept up the reputation of Winchester as a seat of learning and education. Among the noble traditions that cluster round England's Church, one is that no unlearned Bishop shall sit in S. Swithun's Chair.

The "public-school" system, which has done so much for England and has so greatly influenced for good her upper classes, owes its origin to William of Wykeham; and to this day Winchester School yields an influence second to none. We strongly recommend the addition of this volume to every parish or Sunday School library, as well as to that of every parson who can afford it. Every page bears witness that the labor of writing this brief summary of the events connected with this historic town, has been a labor of love with the present Dean.

To have been the capital of Wessex; to have welcomed in her early days the arrival of every prince and prelate of great name; for a while to have been the chief city of England; the home of the great Alfred; the refuge of letters; the mother of English public-school life, — these are the titles on which the great city rests her high renown, and these the memories amidst which she lives. Her ancient buildings, her many customs and usages of the past, her tranquil beauty and pleasant neighborhood, give to the venerable city a right to the undying affection of all whose lot has fallen to them in such pleasant places. It is not in death, but in the beautiful tranquillity of serene old age, that Winchester reposes in her sweet green valley, low down amidst the swelling hills that compass her about. No English city has a nobler record in the past, or a life more peaceful in our rushing, hasty age. There it is still given, to those who have the wisdom to know it, to dwell in peace; and there, let us hope, it may still be said with truth, that 'they also serve who stand and wait.'

Longmans' School Geography for North America. By GEORGE G. CHISHOLM, M.A., B.Sc., F.R.G.S., and C. H. LEETE, B.A., F.A.G.S. New York: Longmans, Green, and Company.

We had not long ago to criticise in no unmeasured terms the writer of a school geography, owing to his ignorance or deficient skill in setting forth his knowledge. We have here a geography far superior in every way to the one before condemned. The facts are told in an interesting manner, and frequently brought home to the student by comparisons to places in the United States. We have, however, to complain of the sections devoted to the religion of the peoples. Under the *United States* there may be some excuse for the writer to say that "Christianity is the prevailing faith, being represented by many denominations of Protestants and by the Roman Catholic Church," since the American Church has to pay the penalty of being reckoned a "Protestant denomination" by outsiders so long as she labels herself "Protestant." While, therefore, such a paragraph does not evince real accuracy, it may be plausibly defended. When we come, however, to the British Isles, we would ask by what right does the author class the Venerable Catholic Church of England with the Protestants? "Protestant" is a title that Church has never sanctioned, and never applied to herself; and it is a piece of gross inaccuracy to say that the majority of the people in Great Britain are Protestants.

Apart from such statements, this geography appears to us to be an excellent handbook for school and college use. The usual fault of geographies used in our schools is that not enough space is given to Europe and the densely populated continent of Asia; here, on the contrary, ample justice is done to our own continent, but the other continents are not treated as nonentities, to be dismissed in a few superficial paragraphs. The latest geographical data concerning Africa are given under their proper headings. Maps are wisely excluded, and several views of places and objects of interest are given in their place.

Literary Essays. By JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. Two volumes. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company.

Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, of Boston, are at present engaged in publishing a complete edition of the writings of James Russell Lowell, to be comprised in ten volumes, of which six are to contain the prose, and four the poetical works. Of the prose collections, the first two volumes are devoted to the literary and critical essays and addresses, and these two volumes have been issued, and lie before us. Seven of these essays appear in the first volume, and eight in the second. To each one is prefixed the date at which it originally appeared, though all have undergone a final revision at the author's hands; and these volumes as they appear successively may be accepted as the definitive edition of Lowell's works.

There is no need, of course, of entering into an elaborate critical study of Mr. Lowell's literary work. He has been so long before the public, and his standing is so high, that any words of praise would be now unnecessary to his fame. While there are those who disagree with Mr. Lowell in some of his political utterances, there are none who withhold their commendation from his literary work. Both in prose and in poetry Mr. Lowell has long been recognized as one of the foremost, if not as the most eminent of the authors of America, and his work has won the same recognition from the best critical papers and reviews of England. In these two volumes we have: "A Moosehead Journal" (1853); "Cambridge Thirty Years Ago" (1854); "Leaves from my Journal" (1854).—I. At Sea, II. In the Mediterranean, III. Italy, IV. A Few Bits of Roman Mosaic; "Keats" (1854); "Library of Old Authors" (1858-1864); "Emerson the Lecturer" (1861-1868); "Thoreau" (1865); "New England Two Centuries Ago" (1865); "Carlyle" (1866); "Swinburne's Tragedies" (1866); "The Life and Letters of James Gates Percival" (1867); "Lessing" (1866); "Rousseau and the Sentimentalists" (1867); "A Great Public Character," that is, Josiah Quincy (1867); and "Witchcraft" (1868), with which the second volume ends.

Of these fifteen essays, eleven appeared in the two volumes entitled *Among my Books* and *My Study Windows*, published a number of years ago by Field, Osgood, and Company, the predecessors of the present firm. These two volumes contained seven essays which do not appear in the present two; doubtless they will be found in future volumes, and on the other hand, the present two contain three essays absent from the earlier volumes.

In reading Lowell's writings we are sure of two things,—the subject-matter will be interesting, and also that the style of the writing will be chaste and beautiful. In fact, Lowell is one of the few real essayists in this country who pay regard to the graces of style, so that the reader receives a double pleasure.

The typographical appearance of this new edition is neat and attractive, and it must be found hereafter in any library which makes any pretensions to importance.

Chapters from the Religious History of Spain connected with the Inquisition. By HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL.D. Philadelphia: Lea Brothers and Company.

This is a work deserving of an extended notice,—indeed, of a special article devoted to it. It is a work of such painstaking scholarship, such a mastery of detail, and shows such long and laborious research, that we feel we are doing it an injustice to dismiss it by a brief review. It contains a mass of hitherto unpublished and unedited material, and is the most valuable contribution to the intricate period it treats of that has yet been given to English readers. The work is divided into three parts,—The Censorship of the Press, Mystics and Illuminati, Eudemoniadas,—and has a short history of El Santo Niño de la Guardia, Brianda de Bardaxi, and an appendix containing official documents. The style of the writer is that of an historian, and he recounts his facts coldly and dispassionately. To all students of religious history, to all students of human nature and the human heart, there is here presented an inexhaustible mine, the working of which cannot fail to have a wonderful fascination.

The history of the development of the Inquisition, the history of its dealings with friend and foe, the history of the possessed, whether claiming Divine or diabolical illumination, concern mankind, whether in its history, nature, or affections. The peculiar complexity of human nature is well shown in its relations to Spanish ecclesiastical history. The deepest sense of the necessity of keeping inviolate the Divine deposit of Faith as the most sacred of trusts, the sense of loyal submission to constituted authority, the sense of being true to the noblest of aspirations, even at the cost of rebellion to such authority, the straining after communion with the Ineffable Love and the Supreme

Wisdom, the baffled hate of defied authority debasing the noblest motives, the freedom of aspiration degenerating into license and devotional ecstasy counterfeited for earthly gain, — all these formed a tangled skein of human motive baffling the wisest to unravel, and affording the amplest matter for interest to us of later generation but of like passions, though differently and not so vehemently expressed.

We hope to have an opportunity of recurring again to this fascinating history. In any case, we commend its addition to the libraries of all thoughtful students of the human heart.

Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica. Essays chiefly in Biblical and Patristic Criticism. By Members of the University of Oxford. Volume II. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. New York: Macmillan and Company.

The Preface is signed by S. R. Driver, T. K. Cheyne, and W. Sanday. The present volume is a further instalment of a number of essays which have accumulated since the publication of the first series of *Studia Biblica* in 1885. A work of this kind cannot be criticised with any amplitude of detail in the CHURCH REVIEW, and for the information of the few scholars our Church has in these studies we will merely give the table of contents.

I. The Authorship and the Titles of the Psalms according to early Jewish Authorities. By Ad. Neubauer, of Exeter College.

II. The Origin and Mutual Relation of the Synoptic Gospels. By F. H. Woods, of S. John's College.

III. The Day and Year of S. Polycarp's Martyrdom. By C. H. Turner.

IV. The Clementine Homilies. By C. Bigg, of Christ Church.

V. The Evidence of the Early Versions and Patristic Annotations on the Text of the Books of the New Testament. By St. J. M. Bebb, of Brasenose.

VI. The Ammonian Lectures, Eusebian Canons, and Harmonizing Tables in the Syriac Tetra Evangelium. By G. H. Gwilliam, of Hertford College.

VII. The Codex Amiatinus and its Birthplace, Appendix on the Italian Origin of the Codex Amiatinus, and the Localizing of Italian MSS. By W. Sanday, of Exeter College.

Selected Sermons of Schleiermacher. Translated by MARY F. WILSON, London and New York: Funk and Wagnalls.

This is a fresh volume of the Foreign Biblical Library. The fame and name of Schleiermacher is fast passing away. Few, if any, of the younger generation know anything of him; it is well therefore that one who influenced Christian thought so much in his native land should be included within the series of foreign sermon-writers.

How far Schleiermacher's sermons will help our preachers is doubtful, owing not only to the theology they teach,—so different from that to which the American Church is committed,—but to the needs of the hour, so unlike those of his time. Diffusiveness, if ever pardonable, is unpardonable nowadays. As the last Lambeth Encyclical wisely insisted on, definite outspoken teaching is what is required, and not elaborate essays on subsidiary points of the Christian doctrine. Still, the preacher, if he is wise, will cull from every source, and in these sermons he will find many excellent thoughts and much that will be suggestive, especially in the non-doctrinal sermons, as those on the training of children.

The translation is fluent and smooth.

One Man's Struggle. By GEORGE W. GALLAGHER. London and New York: Funk and Wagnalls.

This is a vividly told story of the struggles of one man to put down the liquor traffic in his town. A Reverend Mr. Barnes is called from his country field of work to the pastorate of a wealthy city Church. Fired with indignation at the open connivance of magistrates and officers with the violation of the prohibition laws, Mr. Barnes engages several of his brother ministers in a crusade to enforce the observance of the laws. The result is that he empties his church, has a few liquor-sellers fined or reprimanded, and dies of over-anxiety and worry. The story is well told; but we fail to see exactly what moral Mr. Gallagher wishes us to derive from it. The only one which to us is deducible is that the liquor interests are too strong to be tackled, and that prohibitory laws cannot be enforced. If this is the moral, would it not be wiser to take such laws off the statute-books? The law should never threaten but when it can strike, else its majesty is lowered and brought into disrepute. It cannot be a wholesome example for any community to see the law openly mocked and set at nought. The inference will be unfailingly drawn that if it can be so set at nought in one case, it can in every other; still there is no doubt room for much more plain-speaking on the evils of intemperance and of the great temptations that befall the calling of liquor-selling than is wont to be heard from our pulpits. Perhaps the moral Mr. Gallagher intended his readers to draw from his vivid portrayal of one man's struggles was that no minister without an endowment can afford to be a reformer, or, as the Church would put it, none but a celibate and ascetic can be a S. John the Baptist.

The Elements of Psychology. By GABRIEL COMPAYRÉ. Translated by WILLIAM A. PAYNE. Boston: Lee and Shepard.

The publishers have done good service to all students of psychology by publishing this authorized and excellent translation of a trea-

tise by so great a master of the subject as M. Compayré. For lucidity of style, compression of thought, and accuracy of detail, French thinkers and writers are infinitely superior to their German brethren, and we have often wondered why our professors have not laid the great French masters under greater contributions than they have hitherto done.

American and English modes of thought are in greater consonance with the French than with the German, no matter how much individual professors, themselves masters of the German language, may loudly assert to the contrary.

As a handbook to what has with us been treated as a vague subject incapable of definite treatment and positive instruction, we cordially commend this work of M. Compayré. Mr. Payne is perfectly right in claiming for his author that "the subject is no longer enveloped in transcendental obscurity, but is brought within the compass of the ordinary intelligence by being presented as an experimental science or science of observation."

The arrangement of the work in sections is, as all teachers know, a most excellent method. An index to proper names and technical terms concludes the volume.

Scouting for Stanley in East Africa. By THOMAS STEVENS. New York: Cassell Publishing Company.

A most interesting volume, containing the record of what was undoubtedly one of the pluckiest trips into Africa yet known. How Mr. Stevens succeeded, how he outmanœuvred Weissmann, and how he reached Stanley, are events too recent in the public mind for us to recapitulate them; and in the rivalry which exists between two of New York's great papers, it must freely be confessed that the one represented by Mr. Stevens scored a victory. As to the object of the expedition, it may be as well to give Mr. Stevens' own words.

Go to Zanzibar. Investigate the state of affairs there. Let us know the truth about the trouble between the Germans and Arabs. See what is to be seen about the slave trade. Find out all that you can about Stanley and Emin Pasha, and if necessary or advisable, organize an expedition and penetrate the interior for reliable news of the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition. Spare no expense in carrying out the main object of the enterprise, but at the same time don't throw money away recklessly. Act on your own judgment when you have reached Zanzibar and looked about you [p. 2].

The part which we think will most interest our readers is dealing with the slave trade. At a time when, if the cablegrams are to be believed, the Germans in Africa have formally sanctioned this curse, by attempting to regulate it, nothing should be left undone to keep this subject before the Christian world. The abolition of slavery is the first step toward flooding the Dark Continent with the

light of the Gospel. The words of every eye-witness of the slave trade are therefore of the greatest value toward informing the Christian conscience of this gigantic evil. Mr. Stevens brings out very clearly and vividly what we have never yet seen so brought out,—the cunning Machiavelism of the professional slave-dealers.

These cunning scoundrels, these dealers in women and children, set the chiefs of Chaga to warring and raiding, in order that they may obtain slaves for the Zanzibar and Pemba shambas.¹ Some of these Wa-Swahili fairly live at the courts of the Chaga chiefs. They make it their business to hang about and keep informed of all that is going on, in order that they may concoct such rascally schemes as the above, by which they, without endangering their own precious persons, keep up the supply of slaves. They secure the confidence of the chiefs, then act in the capacity of advisers and friends. If these inhuman vultures were kept out of Chaga, or suppressed, the great incentive of the chiefs to make war on each other would be removed; and there is no reason why, with a little good management, peace and good-will might not be established between the fourteen bantam States of Kilimanjaro [p. 198].

Is it not too horrible to think of, that these Swahili slave hunters and dealers should purposely set these tribes fighting that they may purchase of them the captured prisoners? A Swahili slave-dealer being at each court, it is immaterial to him which petty knight wins, since one must be defeated, one must furnish prisoners for him to buy for a few pieces of cloth.

As the writer of the article on *Christianity in Africa* in the last CHURCH REVIEW pointed out, the Arab slave-dealers are the curse of Africa, and in Africa Mahomet is the Anti-CHRIST.

What can be more sickening than to know that the following graphic words correctly describe what is daily going on in Africa,—going on while this is penned, going on while this is read by our readers?

The chiefs of the fourteen Chaga States are forever raiding each other, killing, destroying, and capturing at the instigation of such human brutes as those we met at Taro.

Like vultures, these wretched dealers in women and children squat on their haunches day after day about the bomas of the chiefs, expectant of profits, as the wild young warriors assemble and start off with exultant acclaims to attack and surprise their neighbors in the gray of the morning, and gloating as buzzards over a carcass, at the sight of their returning, leading, in hastily improvised yokes of forked sticks, a score or so of miserable victims [p. 186].

With what renewed fervor and deepened meaning ought we not to say the petition of our daily prayer, "Thy Kingdom come"! We earnestly recommend all interested in Africa to read for themselves this straightforward and honest narrative by Mr. Stevens, not for what it says about Stanley and Emin Pasha, for the interest in such men is only momentary, but for what it tells us of the men and women

¹ "A shamba" is the term given to what we should call "a plantation."

CHRIST died to save, and how to bring them under the rule of His Kingdom, which is of everlasting interest.

Aids to Scripture Study. By FREDERIC GARDNER. Boston and New York : Houghton, Mifflin, and Company.

Frederic Gardner's death was a great loss to our Church ; the perusal of the above volume is an additional proof of the scholarly intellect and sound faith of the late professor in the Berkeley Divinity School. It is with somewhat of an apologetic tone that the Editor of these remains bespeaks the attention of the Church. No apology is needed ; on the contrary, nothing but gratitude will be felt that these *Aids to Scripture Study* have been given to the world.

If any part of this work can be praised more than another, we should select the Introduction for such commendation. It is a clear, logical, and earnest statement of the claims the Bible has to Divine inspiration. Objections which have been raised in detail to various so-called inaccuracies in Holy Writ are dealt with in so able a manner that we regret that only typical objections were taken, since we feel how convincingly others would have been shown to be equally futile.

We can conceive of no book more suitable to be placed in the hands of theological students. The objections urged against the inspiration of the Bible on account of seeming inaccuracies of statements are being ever trumped up. We have now the same arguments brought forward that were brought forward twenty, thirty, or more years ago, with as sublime audacity as if they had never been answered or refuted. Every student of the Bible knows scores and scores of such objections ; but not every student knows just how to meet them simply, logically, and without any wresting of the text ; here in this volume is given just such aid as he is in search of. Every little objection of course is not treated in details, but many are thus treated ; and by noting the method of the treatment, the student will be able, with a little thought, to treat others. It is thus on broad principles with illustrative examples that the work proceeds.

After this Introduction, which occupies more than a fifth of the whole work, the rest is divided into two parts,—the preparation for interpreting and the art of interpreting. As the second part is but the application of the knowledge acquired under the first part, it will be sufficient for us to show what the first part deals with. Briefly it may be said that the preparation required for the right interpretation of the Scriptures consists of, when once a general knowledge of them has been obtained,—a knowledge of the geography of Bible lands, of the general history of Scripture times, of archæology, of antiquities, and of natural science, and a knowledge of the original languages. Thus much for the mental equipment of the interpreter ; then

there is required what is equally important, — a religious preparation of the interpreter conjoined to the personal qualifications of willingness to take trouble, a judicial state of mind, common-sense, and sagacity and reverence.

In the enforcement of these lessons there is brought to bear in every page an accurate scholarship, illustrating the need of the knowledge under discussion if a right interpretation is to be given of a text.

The best summary of this work is to give that which the lamented Professor prepared for his students. The best criticism is to say that the writer has fulfilled in himself the four personal qualifications, just mentioned, which he demanded in others. The only fault to be found with the Editor is that he has not given a sufficiently full index. A work of this kind is not one which a student will read through and lay aside, but one which, once read, he will keep by him for constant reference. For such reference he requires a very full index. When the second edition is called for, we hope this defect will be remedied, and that an index of texts treated in the volume will also be given. Good matter ought to be made readily accessible.

We have said enough to show that of good matter there is in this work no lack.

Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages. From the papers of the late WILLIAM WRIGHT, LL.D., Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. London and New York: Macmillan and Company.

We must first give just praise to the Cambridge University Press for the remarkable clearness and beauty of the Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Aramaic type used. The delicacy of the work is remarkable.

These lectures of the lamented Dr. Wright are edited by W. Robertson Smith, and it is needless to say the work has been one of fidelity on his part.

In the Easter term of 1877, Dr. Wright began a course of elementary lectures on the comparative grammar of Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic, and continued to lecture on the subject at intervals till his fatal illness. The printed lectures are taken entirely from the manuscript, and contain nothing additional except in the way of occasional footnotes and references. This work is one which every scholar of a Semitic language ought to possess, and is simply invaluable for the light it sheds on an abstruse and difficult branch of study.

The Jews under Roman Rule. By W. D. MORRISON. New York: G. P. Putnam's sons.

This is another volume of that admirable and instructive series, *THE STORY OF THE NATIONS*. Mr. Morrison has certainly done his work well,

and we have here given us an extremely lucid and accurate account of the period of Jewish history when under the Roman rule. The volume is profusely illustrated with maps and views of the Holy Land. We cordially commend this history as an addition to our Sunday School libraries.

Divine Rod and Staff in the Valley of the Shadow of Death. By J. M. ANSPACH. London and New York: Funk and Wagnalls.

The title sufficiently illustrates the object of this little volume. Every Parish Priest feels the need of some such book to place in the hands of mourners. We do not know of any work that goes so fully into the matter of consolation as this one does. It is written throughout in a cheerful, cheering, and hopeful spirit. Its only fault is that it does not deal with the intermediate state, and thus by implication lends color to the erroneous teaching that souls go to heaven or hell at their death. With this one blemish, which could easily be remedied in a subsequent edition by the insertion of an additional chapter, we yet recommend this little work as eminently suitable as a gift to all who mourn and cannot be comforted.

The World Lighted: A Study of the Apocalypse. By CHARLES EDWARD SMITH. London and New York: Funk and Wagnalls.

The Book of the Revelation will always fascinate students of Holy Writ. This volume has the rare merit of not being full of strained attempts to reconcile the mystical number with some historical personage, such as Napoleon or Washington, but seeks to explain the difficulties of the Apocalypse by finding in the sun the key to the enigmas contained in this last book of Holy Writ.

With considerable ingenuity and no little patience, Mr. Smith endeavors to solve the meaning of the various terms used in connection with light, — sun, stars, candlesticks, lamps, etc., — and thus perceives a spiritual meaning in every term employed.

A Look Upward. By SUSIE C. CLARK. Boston: Lee and Shepard.

A Look Upward is a temperate, reverently worded plea for what is popularly known as the "Mind Cure." With a great deal that the authoress states, every devout believer in the power of the soul over the flesh will heartily coincide, but there are many passages, or rather, perhaps, to speak more correctly, there is an under-current in the work which is at variance with the Faith of the Church. We regret such a variance, nor do we see any necessity for it. The Church has always recognized and taught the triumph of the soul over matter, and in her rules as to fasting, self-denial, and abstinence, has brought the possibility of this triumph home to the minds of all. The Church would be the last body in the world to deny the possibility of cure, whether of

the mind or faith. We therefore cannot but regret whenever we see in the disciples or expositors of such healing an antagonism to the Church. The writer of this work misses the great source of all spirituality when she advocates the study of music and art as a recreation, and omits to enjoin prayer.

By prayer, by fasting, by meditation, by dwelling in the presence of CHRIST, and by communion with Him in the adorable mysteries, have great cures of healing mind, body, and soul been effected in the past, and will again, so soon as we have a clergy which realizes the value of such Divinely appointed means. The Church is making a terrible mistake when she allows outsiders to monopolize Mind Cures, Faith Cures, and what has recently been called hypnotism. As a contribution to the subjects from a non-Churchman point of view, *A Look Upward* is full of matter conveying the deepest lessons to all clergy; and while the clergy ought to add much to what the author says in the way of treatment, or of sources of power, to be in harmony with Church teaching, yet those who have not given the subject a thought will learn much from this little treatise.

AMERICAN REFORMERS :

Horace Greeley. By FRANCIS NICOLL ZABRISKIE. London and New York: Funk and Wagnalls.

Wendell Phillips. By CARLOS MARTYN. London and New York: Funk and Wagnalls.

It was a happy idea to issue a series of AMERICAN REFORMERS; and if the rest of the series is as well carried out as these two volumes, Americans will possess a handy, useful, and instructive set of biographies. The lives of Horace Greeley and Wendell Phillips, the Journalist and the Agitator, are told fully and frankly and with a minuteness of detail that is always welcome in a biography. In the appendix to the life of Wendell Phillips there is given, for the first time in book form, Phillips' three notable speeches on the "Lost Arts," "Daniel O'Connell," and "The Scholar in a Republic."

GOD and Little Children : The Blessed State of all who die in Childhood proved and taught as a part of the Gospel of CHRIST. By HENRY VAN DYKE. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph and Company

There is much that provokes criticism in this little book. The very dedication is inaccurate; children do not go to heaven when they die, but to Paradise. In his Preface the author states that "the dark old dream of the perdition of infants has indeed begun to fade long since from the soul of Christendom, and the hope of their salvation has grown brighter and brighter." We deny that Christendom ever taught the perdition of infants. The farthest even that individuals ever went was that

"unbaptized infants would perish." S. Augustine took up the position that every unbaptized child was doomed; but he qualified that when in his treatise on baptism he said: "I find that not only martyrdom for the sake of CHRIST may supply what was wanting of baptism, but also faith and conversion of heart, if recourse may not be had to the celebration of the mystery of baptism for want of time" (*De baptismo contra Donatistas*, iv. cap. 22).

The Prayer-Book Reason why. A Text-book of Instruction on the History, Doctrines, Usages, and Ritual of the Church, as suggested by the Offices.
By the REV. NELSON R. BOSS, M.A. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

This is one of the very best hand-books of the kind we have yet seen. We have carefully and critically read it through, and as a result strongly recommend it. We have not met with a single incorrect statement. It consists of simple questions on the different parts of the Book of Common Prayer, with short and easily understood answers. We consider it an invaluable adjunct to the Sunday School, thus tending to dissipate the prevalent gross ignorance of nine tenths of our people on the Prayer-Book. When Mr. Boss issues a new edition, as we hope he will soon have occasion to do, we would suggest to his consideration the following points where a little fuller teaching would be advisable.

Page 26. "Daily Bread" in the Lord's Prayer surely refers to the Bread of Life (as Tertullian long ago pointed out), and should teach us to aim at the ideal Daily Celebration.

Page 34. The reason given for the singing the *Jubilate* is fanciful and wrong in fact. The *Jubilate* formed part of Lauds, and used to be sung *before* the lesson. In the English Prayer-Book it was inserted to prevent a repetition of the *Benedictus*, when it had just occurred in the lesson; and now that we have the *Benedictus* restored to the American Church, the *Jubilate* ought never to be used except on such occasions.

Page 41. Why are the Spanish and Swedish Churches mentioned in conjunction with the Greek, Roman, and Anglican? There is no Spanish Church now, as Churchmen in Spain acknowledge the Roman obedience; that is, there is no more a Spanish Church than there is a Portuguese or a Belgian. As for the Swedish body, no authoritative decision has been given, showing that they have preserved the ministry and the Faith.

Page 47. "Fighting on its own *hook*" is not a very appropriate term. Slang phrases may be used in a newspaper, but not in a Church manual.

Page 54. The true reason why the *Magnificat* and the *Nunc Dimittis* are to be said at Evensong, is that they are the Gospel Canticles of the Incarnation.

Page 86. Regeneration is not sufficiently explained as the new birth from above.

Page 106. The chapter on Confirmation is the weakest in the book. The gift of the HOLY GHOST is not enough insisted upon. We commend to the notice of Mr. Boss the article on Confirmation in the October number of the CHURCH REVIEW of 1889.

Page 109. The difference between marriage and holy matrimony is not brought out.

Page 117. In the chapter on the Burial of the Dead, an excellent opportunity is lost of teaching on Christian Burial, and showing how repulsive and contrary to Christianity the present funeral customs are.

Page 150. It is a pity that in explanation of the Lamb as a Christian symbol, the only text given is Is. liii. 7, instead of some of the numerous ones in the Gospels and the Book of Revelation, where CHRIST is distinctly claimed to be the LAMB OF GOD.

It may be said that the points we have taken are not of vital importance. We admit this, except the weak chapter on Confirmation; but in a manual on so important a subject as the Prayer-Book, every point has to be carefully scrutinized. When we say that out of nearly a thousand questions and answers, the above are the *only* exceptions we take against this text-book, loyal Churchmen will feel that they can unhesitatingly place it in the hands of their teachers.

The True Historic Episcopate as seen in the Original Constitution of the Church of Alexandria. By the REV. MASON GALLAGHER. London and New York : Funk and Wagnalls.

We have here a contribution from the tiny Cumminsite schism on the question of the Historic Episcopate. This publication is very valuable as showing what Episcopate it is that they deem they have. It has been a matter of discussion among Churchmen how far the body which calls itself the Reformed Episcopal Church has the Episcopate, if at all. We therefore welcome a publication which, if we may judge from the commendatory introductory preface of the "Professor of Church History in the Seminary of the Reformed Episcopal Church, Philadelphia," is in harmony with the official tenets of the body to which the author belongs.

The whole of the argument as far as the Church of Alexandria is concerned is based on the well-known passage of S. Jerome where the authority of the Priesthood is insisted on. Upon this slender foundation is reared the whole edifice of a Church "Episcopal in government with succession through Presbyters." Why, S. Jerome himself expressly limited ordination to Bishops, even where he argues so strongly for the second Order.

"Hierarchical domination," we are gravely informed, "was forced on the Church of England, . . . King James I. arranging with Laud and his subservient Bishops," etc. [p. xiii]. We are astonished that any man with any pretence of learning should print such rubbish. Then a few pages farther on we are told that the Protestant Episcopal Church cannot confer the Historic Episcopate which it offers as a basis for Reunion, but that the Reformed Episcopal can. This is truly delicious. The Reformed Episcopal derived whatever shred of Episcopacy they may have from the Protestant Episcopal Church, since they separated themselves from that Church. If the Protestant Episcopal Church has not the Historic Episcopate, then how can the Cumminsites have it? Have they had a special miraculous Episcopate conveyed to them by the Head of the Church? They do not even allege this. The reasons they give why they have the Episcopate, and why the Protestant Episcopal Church has not got it and did not have it at the time of the Cumminsite schism, are as follows, briefly stated: —

The Episcopal succession was obtained from England upon the adoption of a specific Constitution and Prayer-Book. Afterward the principles of that Constitution and Prayer-Book were radically changed. Therefore the succession vanished into thin air! As well might a man say that his system and principles having undergone radical changes, therefore his father was no longer his father!

The reader may in curiosity ask what are these dreadful radical changes. The separate House of Bishops, a Scoto-Romish Communion Service, and a thoroughly Sacerdotal institution office appended. Therefore our author calmly asserts: "The Church thus having radically changed the base on which it received the succession, it follows that they have lost the special gift if one was conferred." We must certainly go from home to obtain news. All the time we thought ourselves in close communion with the English Church, it appears we have radically departed from her. What a fool's paradise we are in if Mr. Gallagher is to be trusted! Strange to say, however, the English Church is under the same delusion we are, and believes that we still have the succession she bestowed on us. May we ask the Reformed Episcopals if we have lost the succession the English Church gave us, why it is that they have endeavored to establish two branches of their schism in England? The English Church has not altered her Prayer-Book, her Liturgy, or the mode in which her Bishops sit or vote. Therefore if we have lost the succession, she has not; why then do the Cumminsites set up their Episcopate where, according to their own confession, there is a true Episcopate? But logic and Mr. Gallagher have fallen out, if they ever were friends.

We pass over the Preface, full of misstatements as to what the writer

has proved in his book, and come to the work itself. Chapter I. contains as its title a direct falsehood, "The Church of England acknowledges one Evangelical Ministry."

The writer states: —

The principles of the Church of England were settled by the Reformers in the reign of Edward and Elizabeth, when the Liturgy and Articles were compiled and revised. The action of that Church during this period is the best commentary on the intention of its legislators and the meaning of their words [p. 1].

This is fair enough, and we quite agree to the argument contained in the last sentence. We turn over the page, prepared to be confronted with a catena of evidence from Edward VI. upward. And will the reader credit it? We find the first extract given is one from Strype, who died 1737, or 134 years after Elizabeth died, then one from Keble, and so on. Not a single "action of the Church during the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth" is given. Not one!

Chapter IV. gives the testimony of English Reformers, — at least it says it does, but in point of fact does not. It gives a few quotations from Whitgift — which are not to the point — from Ballinger, the Zurich preacher, Rainolds, and Andrew Willet, not one of whom can be accurately classed among the English Reformers. To those who know how strenuously Whitgift fought and labored to exclude from the ministry all men non-Episcopally ordained, it is ludicrous to find him of all men as the one solitary English divine of note cited in favor of the parity of ministry.

It is useless to weary our readers with any further remarks on this book. The author is like a man pretending to settle a claim for a thousand dollars with a dollar note, which on examination proves to be spurious. We can understand the reasoning of the Presbyterian who boldly declares Episcopacy an invention of man. We can reason with Presbyterian divines, and as the pages of this REVIEW will bear witness, have gratefully recognized the great worth of work from their pens, but it is waste of time to reason with a man of straw like Mr. Gallagher, who seems to be utterly devoid of logic or of the perception of what is due from a writer who advances a statement, — at least the pretence of proving it. If the Reformed Episcopalian are of the same opinion as Mr. Gallagher as to the worthlessness of Episcopacy, why don't they as honest men become Presbyterians? In the mean time let us give all such writers as Mr. Gallagher a friendly word of advice, — not to fall into the error of school-boy essayists, that to state a fact is equivalent to proving it. If they are honestly anxious to know what the Church of England has officially taught, maintained, and enforced on the question of Episcopal ordination, we commend to their notice the remarkable and exhaustive series of papers which have appeared in this REVIEW

entitled *The Voice of the Church of England on Episcopal Ordination*, by the Rev. Arthur Lowndes. These they will find not opinions of individuals, but what Mr. Gallagher says he seeks, the action of the Church during the reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth. When Mr. Gallagher can refute or disprove the accuracy of the facts therein given, we shall be willing to hear what he has to say on the Historic Episcopate in England since the Reformation. Men should be learners before they are teachers. As for Mr. Gallagher personally, we advise him to confine himself to fiction, for which he has undoubted talents.

Facsimile of the Original Manuscript of the Book of Common Prayer, signed by Convocation, Dec. 20, 1661, and attached to the Act of Uniformity of 1661. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode. New York: E. and J. B. Young and Company.

We have never departed from our rule, not to notice books until after their formal publication; but in the above we feel that there is just cause for our doing so. Nearly the whole of the printed discussion on the revision of the Prayer-Book of the American Church (by the leaders of the movement) took place in the CHURCH REVIEW, and we think that we can justly claim that almost every liturgical scholar of any prominence in this country is a subscriber to the REVIEW. We therefore feel it to be our duty to call the attention of our readers to the announcement of the American publishers in our advertising pages concerning the reproduction in facsimile of the original manuscript of the Book of Common Prayer. As only seven hundred and fifty copies are to be printed, and probably not more than one hundred of them will be sent to this country, those who care to have in their possession what is and must always be regarded as the final court of appeal should lose no time in subscribing to this great work.

We have seen advance sheets, and can bear witness to the fact that the work is being admirably done.

GOD Incarnate. By the Right REV HOLLINGWORTH TULLY KINGDON, D.D., Bishop Coadjutor of Fredericton. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

We have here the Bishop Paddock lectures for 1890. The General Theological Seminary is much to be congratulated on their choice of lecturer.

This volume has been received too late for anything like an adequate notice of it to be written in time for this issue of the CHURCH REVIEW, and we trust that a competent, critical, and detailed review will be given of this remarkable work in our next issue. It is a matter of congratulation also to the learned Bishop that by these lectures he was afforded an opportunity to prove that he possessed what S. Paul considered an essential qualification in a Bishop, aptness to teach. There is no "halting

between two opinions." In Dr. Kingdon's *Fasting Communion*, we had a work the object of which was negative, rather than positive. It did not lie in the province of that work to vindicate what is known as the Catholic view of Fasting Communion, but rather to expose the unorthodox rigorist exposition. The title of the work we always conceived was most unfortunate, and has led to much misconception. Most men thought that Dr. Kingdon wrote against Fasting Communion, whereas he did no such thing; he wrote against the teaching of Priests who upheld at all hazards the rigorist view, — a view which if unchecked would tend to bring about the practice of rare communions such as prevailed before the Reformation and prevails still in the Latin Communion. Most critics overlooked the passage where Dr. Kingdon acknowledged that he himself practised Fasting Communion, and classed the author among the latitudinarian divines. These lectures place him, on the contrary, where all who know him acknowledge to be his rightful position, in the school of Pusey, Keble, and Liddon. Versed in patristic lore, learned in the Scriptures, we are thankful to say the lecturer has the merit, rare in these days, of eschewing all originality, which is the mother of heresy, but is content to expound "the Faith which was once for all delivered unto the Saints."

We fear, however, that to many whose lips do not "keep knowledge" much of these lectures will be deemed very original and new. Certainly we cannot call to mind any recent work where such an abundance of treasures, old and new, have been brought out from the storehouse of the Faith.

Leaving all criticism of the contents to a fuller review, we, however, feel called upon to say that to all who cherish reverence of treatment, and orthodox expositions of "the mystery of the Faith," this volume will prove more and more rich in nourishment as it is studied.

It is beyond question the theological work of the year.

Bible Study. The Calvinistic Doctrine of Election and Reprobation no Part of S. Paul's Teachings. By JOHN ANDREWS HARRIS, S.T.D., of the University of Pennsylvania Philadelphia: Porter and Coates.

This little volume contains six sermons preached in the commencement of this year, and the title sufficiently indicates their purport. The first sermon explains the form of the Authorized Version, and why it is divided into chapters and verses, — in a word, why it is not edited like any ordinary book. For home study the Paragraph Bible and the Revised Version are recommended. As to the judgment passed upon that version by the preacher, we differ entirely. He claims that it "will be found a much truer rendering of the original than the old version, — notably the case in the New Testament" (p. 21).

— We differ completely. We deem the Revised Version useful to the

scholar in his study, and that only in some cases. For general reading we emphatically advocate the sole use of the Authorized Version. We, on the other hand, are in thorough accord with the writer when he denounces the use of "proof-texts." They have caused more schism and heresy than anything else we know of. Logically speaking, the use of them is absurd, and we welcome every ally to the good cause of proving that absurdity. The aim of Dr. Harris is to show, by such arguments as an ordinary congregation can follow, that the "election" S. Paul referred to was the election of a Church out of the world,—of a corporate rather than an individual election; in other words, of a comprehension rather than an exclusion. The hearers of the sermons will, we think, have taken away with them a very definite idea of the primitive teaching on election, and one no doubt quite new to them, or to a majority of them. We regret to have to criticise any sermons tending to accomplish so great a good; but when sermons are printed, they are printed, among other reasons, to be criticised. As printed sermons, therefore, we regret to find that the writer of them is unfamiliar with the history of the Thirty-Nine Articles, and more especially of the seventeenth; and that the cogency of his argument is much weakened by an absence of appeal to the early Fathers. Whately and Morgan Dix are worthy writers; but their warmest admirers would not class them on an intellectual level with S. Augustine or Calvin, nor with the English divines of the Reformation period. What is required to be proved is not what scholarly men of this generation think S. Paul meant, but that S. Augustine, S. Thomas Aquinas, and Calvin taught contrary to the doctrine held by the primitive Church. When once the primitive Fathers are adduced as witnesses to what the early Church understood by certain passages in S. Paul's Epistles to the Romans and Ephesians, the case is won. The Christian of the nineteenth century can possess his soul in patience, heedless of the vexing clamor of Calvinistic or Augustinian outcries, when once it is pointed out to him that the teaching he is asked to accept, and which his better nature inclines to accept, is likewise the teaching of the early Church. His faith rests then on the impregnable rock of antiquity; and while he may be comforted by finding modern divines expounding the doctrines of Election, Predestination, and Free-will on the primitive lines, he will not be moved if others with equal intellectual ability expound them on fourth or sixteenth century lines.

We feel keenly in all matters of doctrine that unless the appeal can be carried successfully to the one tribunal which the Anglican Communion boldly challenges,—primitive Catholicity,—conviction cannot be expected necessarily to follow. For this reason we deem every treatise

or sermon on doctrinal points imperfect, unless that appeal is made, and the doctrine honestly shown to be in strict accordance with that taught by the primitive Church.

A Hand-book of Scientific and Literary Bible Difficulties. Edited by ROBERT TUCK, B.A. (Lond.). New York: Thomas Whittaker.

It is an open question how far any hand-book of difficulties solves rather than raises difficulties. A great number of the so-called difficulties contained in this good-sized volume have never appeared so to us, while we have searched in vain for elucidation on points which have to us presented great difficulties. It is fortunate that all men are not measured by one man's rule. There is no doubt that a great number of the clergy and instructed laity will derive much benefit from such a volume as the one under notice. The part which we think the most valuable is that which shows how modern research has enabled the student of the Bible to remove what until late years appeared almost insuperable difficulties in the connected understanding of many passages in the Old Testament.

We will take one example which fully illustrates our meaning. In 2 Kings vii. 6, "the kings of the Hittites" are spoken of as a powerful nation, — so powerful that they are ranked with "the kings of the Egyptians." Now, considering that the only other Biblical allusion to the Hittites represents them as one of the small Canaanite nations dispossessed by the Israelites, the text in Kings presented a great difficulty to former Biblical students. The way the difficulty was met was after much the same fashion difficulties are now met; it was either ignored, or else the text was rejected as unworthy of belief.

Said one scholar of forty years ago of 2 Kings vii. 6, "Its unhistorical tone is too manifest to allow of our easy belief in it. No Hittite kings can have compared in power with the king of Judah, the real and near ally, who is not named at all. . . . Nor is there a single mark of acquaintance with the contemporaneous history."

Dean Stanley, with his usual dogmatism, pronounced, "The Hittites belong to the more peaceful occupants, and their name is that by which Palestine, in these early ages, was chiefly known in foreign countries." A beautiful sample of Stanleyan explanation, — an explanation explaining nothing, and which has the Stanleyan characteristic of assuming the Bible wrong, though not saying so in so many words. The Bible says the Hittites were a fighting host; Stanley lays it down that they were "peaceful occupants." The Bible says that the Hittites formed part of the host of the Syrians, beyond Palestine; Stanley says quite calmly that they were then the occupants of Palestine.

All this is told us without a quiver of misgiving. All is evolved out of Stanley's inner consciousness, with supreme indifference as to what the

Bible said. Ewald also ignores the Bible record, and lays it down that the Hittites were peaceable people living near Hebron, and thence as far as Bethel.

Any explanation seemed good to these students of "Biblical difficulties" so long as it did not tally with the Biblical words. Now comes the spade of the explorer, and the patient archæologist. Fresh light on ancient monuments is thrown, with the following result.

Five years ago there was no one who suspected that a great empire had once existed in Western Asia, and contended on equal terms with both Egypt and Assyria, the founders of which were the little-noticed Hittites of the Old Testament. Still less did any one dream that these same Hittites had once carried their arms, their art, and their religion to the shores of the *Ægean*, and that the early civilization of Greece and Europe was as much indebted to them as it was to the Phœnicians. The discovery was made in 1879. . . . Rameses II. himself, the Pharaoh of the oppression, had been glad to make peace with his antagonists, and the treaty . . . was cemented by the marriage of the Egyptian king with the daughter of his rival. . . . The Hittites proved dangerous enemies to the Assyrian kings. . . . The Hittites were intruders into the Semitic territory of Syria. Their origin must be sought in the highlands of Cappadocia [p. 26].

Thus disappears the complacent explanation of poor Stanley, and his "peaceful occupants" of Palestine, and Ewald's dictum of peaceable people living near Hebron. The despised Bible alone is true, word for word. And back of the simple words of the sacred narrative what a wealth of solid historical fact lies!

Many such explanations of difficulties does Mr. Tuck give, and they are most valuable. Indeed, as we have already said, whenever the difficulty has been an historical difficulty, the treatment presented by Mr. Tuck forms the best part of his volume. Where the apparent difficulty is doctrinal, Mr. Tuck is not so happy. His desire appears to be to run counter to Catholic tradition, or at any rate to disregard it, and to explain away the difficulty by eliminating out of it all that belongs to the region of faith. Doctrinal difficulties cannot be dealt with in the same manner as historical. The only way to deal with doctrinal difficulties is to appeal not to history, but to the Church. In matters of archæology and kindred sciences we may well defer to an *Historia Docens*, but in doctrinal and cognate difficulties there is but one to whom we can defer the *Ecclesia Docens*.

The above brief remarks accurately give, we believe, a guide as to what our readers may expect to find in this volume. As the historical difficulties largely preponderate, we heartily commend the book to all, sure that it will, by proving what difficulties were in reality no difficulties, give us patience and faith to believe that what may appear to us or our age difficulties will be found to be none.

Color-blindness affects not only individuals, but sometimes whole

races, we are told. Is it not so with the Bible and its readers? The "difficulty" lies not in the Bible, but in the reader.

Under the King's Banner: Stories of the Soldiers of Christ in all Ages.

By C. A. JONES, author of *Count up the Sunny Days; Only a Girl; Stories on the Catechism*, etc. With an Introductory Preface by the BISHOP OF WAKEFIELD. London: Wells, Gardner, Darton, and Company. New York: E. and J. B. Young and Company.

The authoress of this volume of short biographies of the *Soldiers of Christ in all Ages*, has given us a history for children that cannot possibly fail of accomplishing the object for which it was written. It is important, as the Bishop of Wakefield has said in his Preface to the volume, that a history for children should be "short and concise, without being the least dry." The story of the lives of some of the saints and martyrs of all ages, from the Holy Innocents to Hannington and Patterson of our own day, are briefly but interestingly told; and still the historical continuity of the Church is kept constantly before the youthful reader. We consider this one of the chief and important features of the work.

Just as the patient sufferings of the saints and martyrs encouraged the believers to renewed action and more faithful service in the Church in its early ages, so will the story of those lives, if faithfully told now, inspire youthful hearts to prize more highly the faith of CHRIST. We trust this beautifully bound and illustrated volume of history will find a place in every Sunday School library and many private ones as well.

Christian Theism. By the Rev. C. A. ROW, M. A. Oxon. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

The titlepage claims that this work is a brief and popular survey of the evidence upon which Christian Theism rests, and the objections urged against it considered and refuted. The scope of the work may be gathered from the following passage in the opening chapter: —

I shall endeavor to show that the reasons for believing in the existence of a God which are capable of commanding themselves to the masses of mankind, are the strongest and most conclusive, and that the arguments which have been adduced to prove that they are wanting in validity, will fail to commend themselves to men of ordinary understanding [p. 6].

The second chapter deals with the nature of the evidence on which rests our belief in the being of a God; which briefly may be said to be the cumulative or circumstantial, and is fairly well reasoned out. The third chapter deals with Agnosticism and the cavils of Agnostics against Christianity. The opening part, which relates to the consideration of Agnosticism pure and simple, is very weak. Without entering into any

abstruse argument, it can easily be shown how Agnosticism as an attitude of the mind cannot logically stop short of only such subjects which the thinker may offhand declare are unknowable, but ought to be rigidly carried out into all subjects demanding human thought. If man is to cease thinking or exercising his mental powers about the DEITY, on the score that the DEITY is unknowable, then the same barrier ought to be erected at the avenues of every science. Man has gained what he has gained only by refusing to believe in the DEITY as unknowable. He has been willing to admit that the process of knowing the slightest particle concerning the DEITY was a laborious task, and one which no one thinker, or perhaps generations of thinkers, could achieve ; yet he has ever clung firmly to the belief that progress in knowledge could be made. And by striving to know about the DEITY, man has learned much about himself and this universe. Not enough prominence is given in such apologetic works as this one to the fact that the revelation of the DEITY believed in by Christians is a revelation which ever leads men to higher and higher intellectual flights. God is ever beckoning man onward and onward. It is also a most remarkable fact, that the greatest thinkers the world has had for nigh nineteen centuries have been lured by an irresistible fascination to dwell on what the world commonly calls religious matters ; whereas, had men for those centuries been content to accept the Agnostic opiate of the unknowable, a mental paralysis would have fallen on the Christian world, as it has fallen on the Mahometan. The Unknowable and Kismet are practically controvertible terms.

The part of the chapter which deals with anthropomorphism is better reasoned out. It is well shown that Agnostics choose hard words and long-drawn-out sentences wherewith to confound the unwary. The objection of anthropomorphism levelled at Christians lies in the uncouthness of the word, and by a false interpretation of it. It is best met by a frank avowal that Christians do worship God in the form or shape of the man CHRIST JESUS. Controversialists have, however, been scared by the long word, and have gone out of their way to deny their anthropomorphism as Christian Theists, instead of acknowledging it and forcing Agnostics to choose some other weapon. So long as we fight against a term, so long will it be applied. The moment the term is accepted, then it ceases to be opprobrious. One point Mr. Row takes is well taken. Speaking of this accusation of anthropomorphism, he says :—

Second: The objection viewed as one against Christian Theism, is valueless. Christian Theists believe that God has created man in His own image and likeness. If this is true, it follows as a necessary consequence that the highest attributes of man must have something which corresponds to them in the Divine Nature. Unless, therefore, the Agnostic can prove (which he cannot) that God cannot have created man in His own image, the objection owes its entire plausibility to the fact that somewhere in the course of reasoning by which it has been attempted to be established, the point requiring to be proved has been covertly assumed [p. 38].

The chapter containing the argument from causation is, we consider, the very best in the work ; the argument is most closely reasoned, and exposes most completely a popular fallacy. The Church has suffered more by the admissions of her ignorant defenders than by the attacks of foes ; the same is true of Christianity, — if Christianity can be considered apart from the Church. How often do we hear preachers admit that the laws of nature are irresistible, and talk of cause as if it were a law ! Now, it is sheer nonsense to say that the laws of nature cannot be resisted. What may be true is that the *forces* of nature may be irresistible. Again, a cause must be tried, or precede a law. When creation is attributed to however remote a cause, a cause that is self-existent, that is a First Cause ; then that cause, the moment it is personified, is but another name for GOD. Yet people prate about laws of nature, forgetting it is the agency behind the laws which gives force to the laws, and talk about Cause and First Cause as if possessing all the attributes of a personal Deity, yet refuse to see that they are by that admitting both a Governor and a Creator. We have said enough, we think, to give our readers an idea of the value of this work. We strongly advise such of them who have to deal intelligently with doubts engendered by the Agnostic propaganda to study it carefully. It is simply written, with a scrupulous avoidance of the barbarous terminology scientists delight in, and can therefore be easily assimilated.

The Gospel according to S. Luke. By the Rev. HENRY BURTON, M. A.
New York : A. C. Armstrong and Son.

This is another of that excellent series, THE EXPOSITOR'S BIBLE, and one that is very reverently written. If it has a fault, it is that it is too diffuse, and yet in its diffuseness of treatment it never gives us what other minds have sought and found in this Gospel.

That which makes almost all modern expositions so barren, in comparison with ancient, is the utter lack of scriptural and patristic references. However acute the remarks of Mr. Burton may be, they carry no weight with them, since we feel them to be but the result of individual observation. There is also a straining after picturesqueness of treatment, an effort to produce scenic effects, which is also typical of modern expositors, who thus hope to hide their paucity of knowledge by an abundance of word-painting.

As an exposition of the Gospel according to S. Luke of permanent value, we cannot so consider this latest number of THE EXPOSITOR'S BIBLE, but as a reverent, devotional, treatment of the events recorded by S. Luke, we do recommend this volume. It will be found most useful to our laymen. Sunday reading of devotional books has gone out of fashion, to the great detriment of the Church. Perhaps one

cause of it has been the lack of books suitable to the temper of the age. Devotional books which satisfied our forefathers are, be it frankly said, too devotional, too high-pitched for our generation.

Books, therefore, that are sound and reverent in spirit, and are withal written in a lively style, may well be recommended for general reading. It is for that reading that we recommend this series, and of the series more especially this volume. It will be found interesting, instructive, and devotional. A parish library ought to contain more than one set of *THE EXPOSITOR'S BIBLE* for general circulation. The time is come for crying halt to the flooding of our Sunday School and parish libraries with fiction of the tenth-rate order, which emasculates the mind and unsuits it for sober reading.

Lucy Winter. By F. E. READE. Illustrated by J. NASH. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. New York: E. and J. B. Young and Company.

This is a most interesting and instructive story for the Sunday School library. A common-place life is transformed into one of great usefulness and love of others. The author's quotation from S. Gregory — "No one loves a person whom he does not wish should be better" — points the moral of the story. Lucy Winter has a brother to whom she is very much devoted and whom she loves dearly. The brother is wayward, and gradually drifts into dangerous water, but is rescued by his loving and devoted sister, whose own life has been guided into channels of usefulness by the light of others.

Pamphlets, Tractates, Sermons, etc.

The Offices of Warden and Vestryman. By the Right Rev. HENRY C. POTTER, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of New York. Being the Triennial Charge delivered to the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese of New York, Sept. 24, 1890. Printed by Order of the Convention.

THE Church in the United States has what may be termed a parochial system. In her canons lay officers are recognized under the titles of Church Wardens and Vestrymen. Since 1789 it has been largely a matter of speculation, in the minds of many, as to what "sort of men" Church Wardens and Vestrymen ought to be; namely, infidels or heretics, or men who have received Christian baptism and are devout communicants of the Church, showing by their good

works and examples in the community that they feel the responsibility of having been chosen to represent the lay element in the Church and before the world ; and as to their duties, whether it is incumbent upon them to call a Priest to minister in holy things, and then to see how soon his character can be destroyed by them, or to render all the aid and assistance in their power toward helping him to build up the Church and win souls to CHRIST. Judging from the customs that prevail in different parishes, and the canons that have been specially enacted for the government of the Church in the United States, the Church is indifferent as to whether a Church Warden or Vestryman is a Christian man or an infidel, for both infidels and Christians are holding the offices of Church Wardens and Vestrymen in the Church to-day. If a layman consult the canons enacted by this Church for information, he will be disappointed. If he chance to be by profession a lawyer, and has made a study of the origin and history of the office of a Church Warden or Vestryman, and finds (as he is sure to do) that it was a part, and a very important part, of the parochial system of the Anglican Church when this Church became by force of circumstances a national Church, and if he then appeals to the English ecclesiastical and canon law in force at that time as the law governing the respective offices to-day in this Church when not replaced by special legislation,— he will be told by some clergyman or Bishop that he is all wrong. This conflict of ignorance with law and fact has caused the Church no end of trouble. When laymen learned in the civil law and with a fair knowledge of the English ecclesiastical law, like the late Dr. Hugh Davy Evans and the Hon. Murray Hoffman, declare that the law of the Church of England governing these offices at the close of the last century is the law of this Church when not replaced by special legislation or canons, reasonable men ought to accept their opinions as final. But when the supreme court of not only one State, but of several States, declares such to be the case, and rules accordingly, it ought to end the matter.

In the days when this Church was disturbed by party conflicts, there was some excuse for men to hold to the absurd theory that we had no law but what had been enacted since 1789 ; but why any man should hold to this theory now, we are unable to understand. We do not charge the Bishop of New York with holding to this theory. In his Triennial Charge he has said much that is timely and ought to be re-echoed throughout the Church ; but he is extremely timid in stating the law now in force governing the offices which are the subject of his Charge. In fact, he does not state it at all. We call in question his right to leave out the matter of their qualifications and explicit duties after having made the following statement :—

I propose, therefore, to speak to you this morning of the OFFICES OF WARDEN AND VESTRYMAN,—of their dignity, their duties, and their opportunities, and of the relation of these to that larger life of the Church of which our parochial system is a part.

The Bishop has admirably stated, in forcible language, the dignity of these offices, and of "their opportunities and of the relation of these to that larger life of the Church of which our parochial system is a part." He has cited Judge Hoffman and the well-known Declaration of the House of Bishops in 1814, to show that we must look to the law of the Church of England prior to or at the time this Church became a national Church, for a knowledge of the duties appertaining to these offices, and yet claims that we have no legal right to do so. The point that we wish to make clear is so important that even in this brief notice we must quote somewhat at length:—

But at this point it is to be borne in mind that our own Church has consistently affirmed one principle in regard to the laws and usages of our mother, the Church of England,—that principle so admirably stated by one never to be named in this Convention without sentiments of affectionate veneration for his memory,—I mean the late Judge Hoffman. Says that eminent authority in matters of ecclesiastical law, speaking of our colonial Church,¹ 'The law which prevailed in the Church of England formed the law for the members of that Church in every colony of England. They who were members of that Church brought with them, and [when] they joined it in a colony, adopted the doctrine and discipline of the English Church.

'We do not mean,' he adds, 'that such Church as an establishment, with the statutes of uniformity as relieved by the statutes of toleration, governed in the Colonies. But our proposition is that all the members of the Church of England in the Colonies were controlled by the [Ritual] law of the Church of England, except in cases when it was plainly inapplicable.'

It may be urged, indeed, that the action of this Church, as referred to in the Preface of its *Book of Common Prayer*, changes all this, and that as an autonomous body it had and has no concern with any ecclesiastical legislation which may have been enacted by another Church, whether we choose to describe her as a sister or a mother Church. But I think that quite apart from graver and more fundamental considerations which have to do with that law of 'historical continuity' of which we have lately heard so much, there is another testimony to which in this connection reference may not inappropriately be made. In the General Convention of the year A. D. 1814, the House of Bishops and the House of Deputies united in the following declaration: 'It having been credibly stated to the House of Bishops that on questions in reference to property devised before the Revolution to congregations belonging to the Church of England, and to uses connected with the same, some doubts have been entertained in regard to the body to which the two names have been applied, the House thinks it expedient to make the Declaration, That the Protestant Episcopal Church is the same body heretofore known in these States by the name of the Church of England, the change of name, although not of religious principle, in doctrine or in worship or in discipline, being induced by a characteristic in the Church of England supposing the independence of Christian Churches under the different sovereignties to which their allegiance in civil con-

¹ Hoffman's *Ritual Law of the Church*, pp. 35, 36.

cerns belongs. But that when the severance alluded to took place, and ever since, she conceived herself as professing and acting upon the principles of the Church of England, is evident from the organization of our Conventions, and from their subsequent proceedings.¹

In referring to this Declaration, I am not unmindful of the familiar challenge to which such Declarations have been subjected, and I recognize, unreservedly, that they have no canonical authority. But if not of force as law, they are certainly of use as interpreters of law, and if not in the highest sense, they must yet be regarded as in some sense the godly judgment of the fathers of the Church, reinforced by the concurrence of the laity as expressed through their Deputies in General Convention assembled. And so it would seem as if in asking what are the duties and responsibilities of Wardens and Vestries, we have abundant warrant for turning to the canons of the Church of England as in force during the pre-revolutionary period, and as no less, it may be remarked by the way, in force in that branch of the Church Catholic to-day, for such light as may enable us to answer the question.

The Bishop of New York has not given the authorities he has quoted the interpretation they should have. Moreover, we believe that it was his duty to have shown that the civil courts have enforced, in every case that has come before them, the views of Judge Hoffman and the Declaration of the House of Bishops, giving this theory absolutely the force of law. That the Bishop is in hearty accord with this theory is evident from the whole tenor of his Charge. We claim that this was important in a special charge that was likely to attract wide attention outside his own Diocese. Any man who claims that the Preface to the *American Book of Common Prayer* is at variance with the views of Judge Hoffman and Dr. Hugh Davy Evans on this subject is poorly equipped for the duty of interpreting or expounding the law of the Church.

What Church Wardens and Vestrymen (and a great many others) want to know is, What are the explicit duties of Church Wardens and Vestrymen? Why should there be more than one Warden? What the difference is between a Warden and a Vestryman? Have each equal powers and duties? If not, what are their respective powers and duties? By easy reference to a few of the recognized authorities on Church law in England, the Bishop could have answered these questions. Some have been answered by our civil courts. This is a practical part of the subject which the Bishop has only treated in a vague way. The outline answers to these questions, and many others equally important, could have been given in one tenth the space occupied by the Charge.

So, again, when the Bishop comes to the question as to what kind of men Church Wardens and Vestrymen ought to be, he shows himself to be in thorough sympathy with what the history of the offices as well as the law of the Church declares they must be. But he states this as something to be desired, and not as an absolute requirement of the Church.

¹ *Journal of the General Convention of 1814*, p. 431, Perry's reprint.

With all due deference to the customs prevailing and to those who plead that "the exigencies of a new community, the scanty numbers of some little flock, or some other valid reason, may make it necessary that the corporation of a parish should include persons who are not communicants of the Church," we hold that the whole history and law relating to these offices (Vestrymen in the meaning of a select Vestry) shows clearly and requires that they should be communicants of the Church. No exigency can arise in the Church of God making it wise, proper, or necessary to call a man to the office of Church Warden or Vestryman who is not a communicant of the Church. The Bishop well says, following the above quotation from his Charge, "But I cannot understand how this relaxation should ever extend to unbaptized persons, nor can I comprehend how any one can hold such an office without recognizing its claims upon him for such exemplary living, such blameless manners, such sincere and willing service for the good of others, as even Pagan religions have been wont to exact from those who built their temples or guarded their treasures."

The standard of life as seen in the Church Wardens and Vestrymen of some of our parishes is a disgrace to the civilization of our century, even regarding the offices of Church Wardens and Vestrymen as secular, which the Bishop has shown most conclusively that they are not. We have in mind as we write a parish (in a beautiful city with a population of about forty thousand) that has been in existence about seventy years. Long ere this it should have established missions which to-day ought to be flourishing parishes. It has a beautiful stone church and chapel, and yet since the second year of its existence, with but two exceptions of short duration, the parishioners have been at war with their Rectors, or we should say that there has been an ungodly element in the parish all that time. The result is that the congregation is one of the smallest in the city. When our attention was first called to it, the Vestry was composed of one communicant, three men of Presbyterian descent, one infidel, one man of Quaker descent who had never been baptized, and four others who had not been baptized in the Church, and we are not sure that they had received Christian baptism from any religious body. The treasurer was said to be the most profane man in the city, and had not been in Church for many years. The parish was "run" by three of this party; namely, the treasurer, the infidel, and Quaker. The affairs of the parish were discussed at card and drinking meetings of the trio. The Rector decided to turn the ungodly Vestry out at the first annual election, and did so. They sought redress under the canon on Dissolution of the Pastoral Relation, and the Bishop and Standing Committee came to the parish, and fully sustained the Rector. In course of time a new Rector came, of a mild and inoffensive type,

and under him some of these scoundrels got back into the Vestry. In due time the mild Rector was succeeded by an earnest, zealous man, and now we learn that they have again asked for a dissolution of the pastoral relation, which has been promptly refused by the Bishop. This is only one case out of many where the work of the Church has been blighted for years by allowing men who are not communicants to hold office. When we come to realize that it is not so much the fault of the laymen as of the clergy and Bishops who allow it for the sake of expediency, we cannot wonder that men of the world sometimes look with scorn upon the Church for allowing unworthy men to act as her standard bearers. This charge cannot be laid at the door of the Bishop of New York. All through his Charge he holds up the true ideal of what a Church Warden and Vestryman should be. He has failed only in not requiring obedience to what are the law and requirements of the Church to-day, and in not defining the rights and duties of the offices of which he treats. On the other hand, he has stated many things more clearly than we remember their having been, by those who have undertaken the same task before him, either in this country or England. He has called attention to a great need on the part of these offices which we cannot resist quoting: —

I think that if one be an officer in a parish in communities where, as in many of ours, a knowledge of the Church is largely absent, and an ignorant and embittered prejudice largely present, it may justly be expected of him that he shall inform himself as to the Church's position and claims, and have a reason to give as to things that in multitudes of cases are only stumbling-blocks so long as they are misunderstood, and that have come to be in time a part of a most precious heritage to those by whom once they were scorned and reviled. There never was a time when such information, within the reach as it is of any busy man, in a score of admirable manuals and historical compendia, would have found such a welcome as it is finding to-day. Prejudices have decayed, culture has spread and widened, the instinct of worship has wakened out of its long Puritan slumber, and the times are ripe as never before for that educational work of the Church which, mother of the English Bible and of the Book of Common Prayer as she is, none in all the world is so well equipped to do in this land as she. My brethren of the laity who are Wardens and Vestrymen in our several parishes, may we not look to you for help and co-operation in this matter? The encounters of daily intercourse, the inquiries of the uninformed, the misrepresentations of the misinformed, offer, first in the parish and then in the larger community which is outside of it, opportunities which often no one else can so effectually improve as you.

Editorials and other Waifs. By L. FIDELIA WOOLEY GILLETTE. New York: Fowler, Wells, and Company.

A little collection of apothegms, some of them very pithy and to the point. We subjoin one or two, and advise our clerical readers to send for a copy, which, costing but a few cents, will yet be of value in pointing a lesson or clinching an argument.

Argument is useless with one who talks only to bring you to a confession of his greatness.

He who waits for 'something to turn up' almost inevitably finds the door of the poorhouse open to his waiting.

There is no freedom to do wrong.

Base hearts will always imbue the meaning of the whitest soul with their own impurity.

A Sketch of the Belief of the Old Catholics. Dyckesville, Wisconsin.

The title explains the objects of this little pamphlet issued by Father Villatte. The arrangement is concise and the style clear. A very useful pamphlet to have by one these times.

Manuals and Books of Devotion.

A Mission Service-Book, abridged and simplified from the Book of Common Prayer. With 100 Hymns. Milwaukee: The Young Churchman Company.

In the review of the *Preliminary Report of the Liturgical Committee*, 1889, by the Rev. Arthur Lowndes, in the CHURCH REVIEW, July, 1889, there occurred the following prophetic words, which by the publication of this Mission Service-Book are now verified: —

"We shall not be surprised if Church publishers inundate us with Missionary Prayer-Books in which there shall be no alternatives. Then we may get High, Low, and Broad Prayer-Books" [p. 194].

This Mission Service-Book can be classed under the heading of Moderate High, — say half and half, — and for that reason will not be of much benefit.

We have a selection from the sentences; why the most appropriate of all the sentences, "Grace be unto you, and peace, from God our FATHER, and from the LORD JESUS CHRIST," should be left out, we fail to understand. It is the nearest approach to the Invocation that we have, therefore the sentence with which Matins should always open.

The form of absolution belonging to the Holy Communion Service is rightly left out, so is the *Gloria in Excelsis*, the *Jubilate*, and the Nicene Creed. On the other hand, the *Benedicite*, which ought to be retained for Advent use, is left out. Even if left out in its place, it ought to have been printed before or after the Psalms.

After the Morning Prayer follows the Litany, then succeeds the Evening Prayer. For what purpose the sentences — all that precede the LORD'S Prayer — are left out, we fail to see, unless it is intended always to begin with the LORD'S Prayer.

Such a course we deem most unfortunate, since the Evening Service in many localities is the only Missionary Service possible, and it deprives the people of the teaching which the use of confession and absolution conveys. If the full service is meant to be said, then for the sake of simplicity it is better to have the whole service printed *in loco* to avoid the confusion of turning backward and forward in the Prayer-Book; and to remedy confusion we supposed to be the object of such publications as this one. The *Cantate Domino, Bonum Est, Deus Misereatur*, and *Benedic, Anima Mea*, are all left in, when they should all have been cut out, leaving only the Gospel Canticles, the *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis*; why the above four Psalms should have been left in, when the principle we plead for was adopted in Matins, is beyond our comprehension. The Communion Service follows, which is the same as the authorized form, with the exception of the omission of the Exhortation. The Service for Public Baptism of Infants is also printed in full. The Selections are printed, but not the Psalms; of the two we would prefer the Psalms, as the very announcement of the Psalms for the day of the month has an immense educational value, teaching all that the Church provides for and expects *daily* worship. The selection of hymns is fairly well made, though far too few are given for the Holy Communion. The provision for that service is the weakest part of our present Hymnal, and we cannot afford to lose any of the meagre selection there given, certainly not No. 205, "My God, and is Thy Table spread."

"Onward, Christian Soldiers," a very popular and taking hymn, is strangely enough omitted.

We have criticised at length this little production because everything relating to the *Book of Common Prayer* is of too vast an importance to be passed over lightly or with perfunctoriness.

If Mission Prayer-Books are to come into vogue,—a use we should much deplore,—at any rate, let them be made up on a consistent plan. On the whole, we see no benefit in the use of this publication over the Prayer-Book as authorized. We are convinced mischief may arise by the garbled teaching it will provide those outside of the Church. The Prayer-Book is just as easy to follow as this Service-Book. The harm that has been done to the Church by the use of service leaflets and Sunday School services, is incalculable. By their use children have been taught anything but the use of their Prayer-Books; consequently when they are induced to attend the services of the Church, they are at a loss how to use the Church's Book. The same strictures hold good as to Mission Service-Books.

The Music of the Church.

THE CATHEDRAL PSALTER ; AMERICAN EDITION.

The Cathedral Psalter, containing the Psalms of David, together with the Canticles and Proper Psalms pointed for Chanting and set to Appropriate Chants. With New Selections and Canticles, as set forth by the Convention of 1889, adapted to the American Church. Edited by S. FLOOD JONES, M.A., Precentor of Westminster; JAMES TURLE, organist of Westminster; J. TROUTBECK, M.A., Minor Canon of Westminster; JOSEPH BARNBY, Precentor of Eton; Sir JOHN STAINER, M.A., Mus. Doc., Professor of Music of Oxford University; ALFRED FOX, of Cleveland, Ohio; D. E. HERVEY, LL.B., of Newark, New Jersey; and HENRY KING, of S. Paul's Cathedral, London, England. New York and London : Novello, Ewer, and Company.

THIS long-expected book was issued on August 1st last ; and although right in the height of the dull season, it has already been adopted by several prominent Churches.

It is late in the day to commend the Cathedral Psalter. Its merits have been known for years past, and the fact that it is to-day the most widely used book in England is a sufficient proof of its worth. The Psalter was originally edited by the Rev. J. Troutbeck and the Rev. S. Flood Jones, both of Westminster Abbey, the late James Turle, organist of the Abbey, Dr. John Stainer, then organist of S. Paul's Cathedral, and Joseph Barnby, then Precentor of Eton. These men have devoted their lives to the study and performance of sacred music, and each one is an authority in himself. A book which meets the approval of any one of them would be worthy. A book which has the sanction of them all is necessarily of the highest worth.

The work of the American editor has been to adapt the Cathedral Psalter to the use of the American Church. This has been done by altering the phraseology of the Canticles where they differ from the English use, cutting out the especially English services which are not found in the American Prayer-book, and substituting those of the American use, and by the inclusion of the enlarged Table and Proper Psalms, and the Twenty Selections authorized by the last General Convention, all grouped in their proper places, pointed and set to appropriate chants. This made a much larger book, for while the English book contained 144 pages, the American book contains 206 pages ; the preliminary Canticles in the English book filling xxiv pages, and those in the American book

xxvii pages, making a total of 233 pages in the American book, as against 168 in the English book.

The *Venite* is set to fifty-three different single chants, being one for each day of the month, and one for each of the same days for which Proper Psalms are appointed. These are so arranged that the chants are set in related keys to the chants in the morning Psalter, which immediately follows. Five sets of three chants each are given for the *Te Deum*, four sets being double chants, and one set single chants. Four sets of two single chants are set to the *Benedicite*. Four double chants are given with the *Benedictus*, and four single chants with the *Jubilate*. The *Magnificat* has one double and three single chants; the *Cantate*, two single and two double chants; the *Bonum Est*, two single and three double chants; the *Nunc Dimittis*, four single chants; the *Deus Mis-creatur*, one single and three double; and the *Benedic, Anima Mea*, one double and three single chants.

With very few exceptions, every psalm in the Psalter has one or more chants set to it, some single, some double, and in one instance (that is, the Seventy-Eighth Psalm, in the fifteenth evening) quadruple.

The principles on which the Psalter is set to chants are these: —

1. That single or double chants should be used according to the character or construction of each psalm. *See Psalm xv. (single), xxiv. (double).*

2. That the construction of each psalm should as far as possible govern the antiphonal arrangement; for example, if the parallel or antithesis occurs between two halves of one verse, each half should be assigned to Cantoris or Decani, respectively. *See Psalms xv. xix. l. xc.*

3. That the variations of subject or sentiment in each psalm should be marked by a change of chant. *See Psalms xviii. lxxviii.*

Some of the long psalms have four or five chants set to them for the varying sentiment of the words; and frequently in these cases a shorter setting of two alternative chants is also given. Alternative chants are given frequently, and the directions are very clear and intelligible. Where the psalm admits of either a single or a double chant, a choice of either is given.

The chants are largely from nineteenth-century composers, men whose names are well-known and honored in the Church to-day. But a liberal selection of the best of the eighteenth-century compositions appear in the book.

After the Proper Psalms the special psalms for the Burial of the Dead, Churching of Women, Thanksgiving Day, Consecration of Churches, and the Institution of Ministers are given, and the Twenty Selections conclude the book.

In a previous volume of this REVIEW, the Rev. Dr. J. S. B. Hodges of Baltimore gave it as his opinion that throughout the whole Church not

one in fifteen sings the Psalter. We have no statistics on this point ; but the fact that publishers are continually issuing new pointed Psalters, and new editions of old books, would seem to indicate that the proportion of those who sing is very rapidly growing larger. Certainly the music publishers are not issuing these works in a missionary spirit, but to meet an acknowledged demand for them.

Where the psalms are not sung, it is as often as not because it is for some reason impracticable. The principles on which the Cathedral Psalter is pointed minimizes the difficulties ; and the book certainly justifies the assertion of the publishers, which coincides with the opinion of the best Church musicians, that it embodies the "best and most practical system of pointing."

Recent additions to the sacred music published by Novello, Ewer, and Company include a fine Communion service (Missa S. Gabriele) in the key of F, by Hugh A. Douglas, choir-master of S. Cuthbert's Church, Earl's Court, London. The service contains the usual six movements, and a time-table is given to them. Thus we learn that the *Kyrie* takes 2m. 54s. ; the *Credo*, 4m. 12s. ; the *Sanctus*, 1m. 37s. ; the *Benedictus*, 2m. 21s. ; the *Agnus Dei*, 3m. 26s. ; and the *Gloria in Excelsis*, 3m. 7s., making a total of 17m. 37s., for the entire service. This is the first time we have ever noticed such a time-table. The music which Mr. Douglas has composed to the text is brilliant, and when well sung would be highly effective. His organ part is chiefly independent of the voices, and adds much to the brilliancy of the work. The *Et Incarnatus* is given to two soprano voices, and is appropriate and solemn, except that it is set too high. The *Benedictus* leads off with a chorus and obligato soprano solo, the *Hosanna in Excelsis* being a short fugue movement. The *Agnus Dei* has also an obligato soprano solo. Both the *Credo* and *Gloria in Excelsis* begin with the ancient ecclesiastical intonations. The whole accompaniment has been arranged for orchestra, and for high and solemn functions. This setting of the service can be recommended as effective and appropriate ; it is somewhat too elaborate for ordinary functions.

Anthems for Thanksgiving and Harvest Festivals are just now timely. "Ye shall go out with joy," by J. Barnby, No. 352, in Novello's Octavo Anthems ; "Thou, O God, art praised in Zion," by Rev. E. N. Hall, No. 354 in the same series ; and "Break forth into Joy," by Oliver King, No. 570 in the Musical Times Series, — are among the latest additions. They are all good and effective. Barnby's anthem is solid and strong, somewhat chromatically harmonized, as all of this writer's work is, and containing a beautiful soprano solo, which is partly obligato. Mr. Hall's anthem is much simpler. It is in two movements, the second of

which may be sung as a separate anthem if so desired. Like much of this writer's work, there is a little too much repetition of the words. Mr. King's anthem is a very brilliant composition, and needs a well-trained choir to do it justice. It opens with a vigorous choral movement with some antiphonal effects between the parts, which, after becoming more elaborate and dramatic, lead again into the opening movement, which with some variations continues to the close. This is a fine specimen of high-class modern sacred music. No. 350 of the Octavo Anthems is a very dramatic and effective composition by Dr. George C. Martin, "Magnify His Name," for quartet and chorus. When sung by a well-trained choir, this anthem will be greatly admired. No. 355, "Oh, praise God in His Holiness," is a setting of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Psalm, by Theodore Distin. Mr. Barnby has taken the *Sursum Corda* and *Sanctus* of the Communion Service, and made a fine anthem for general use, — No. 334, "Lift up your hearts;" it needs a sonorous solo bass and a good choir for its effective delivery. Oliver King's "Oh, how amiable," No. 347, and A. J. Caldicott's "Behold, how good and joyful," No. 349, are both anthems of the first class, and need solo voices. Chippingdale's "Rend your heart," No. 336, for Lent is simple. Dr. A. H. Mann has taken the *Deus Misereatur* as an anthem text, No. 341, "God be merciful." It is elaborate and difficult, and should be attempted only by choirs of high efficiency. No. 356 is an elaborate and dramatic composition by Henry John King, entitled "Daughters of Jerusalem." To our mind it is much too chromatic and sensuous for the solemn season of Lent, for which it is intended. No. 357, by Oliver King, — "And the Wall of the City," — is a fine anthem for the festival of an Apostle. Nos. 359 to 364 are Six Hymn Anthems by Frederick Branderis, dedicated to S. P. Warren, organist of Grace Church, New York City. They are graceful and melodious and well worth attention.

Among the settings of the Canticles, are noted a *Te Deum* and *Benedictus* in E flat, by Thomas Hutchinson (*Parish Choir Book*, Nos. 44 and 48); a *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* in D, by J. W. Elliott (49 and 50); *Te Deum* in A, by G. H. Westbury (No. 45); *Benedicite* in chant form by F. E. Gladstone (No. 55); *Te Deum* in D, by Charles Vincent (No. 51); *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis* in F, by E. Cuthbert Nunn (No. 46); and *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis* in F, by Edward Newton (No. 47). The compositions in this series are not as a rule very difficult.

G. Schirmer of New York has recently published the "Third Solemn Mass for Four Voices," by Eduardo Marzo, opus 32. The whole Mass is built upon a single phrase of four notes, A, B, D, C. In the *Kyrie* this phrase is given in quarter-notes, in two-four time; in the *Gloria in Excelsis*, in half-notes in common time; in the *Credo*, in dotted halves,

in six-eight time ; in the *Sanctus et Benedictus*, in whole notes, in common time ; and in the *Agnus Dei*, in quarters and halves in two-four time. This last movement is in the key of D, all the others beginning and ending in the key of A, which is the nominal key of the Mass.

Though the composer is an Italian, we find nothing of the light and trivial style of Italian Mass music. Solo voices are employed both alone and concerted, but in a serious spirit, and while the work is melodious, it is not frivolous. The typical phrase is met with frequently, and in different forms and keys ; the harmonization is chromatic, but not sensuous, and the accompaniments are judiciously varied between independence and support of the voices. The Mass is a good one, though it does not reach to the dignity of John White's Solemn Mass, issued last year by the same firm.

An exceedingly useful work for small choral societies and for festival occasions in the Church, is the cantata, *The Ten Virgins*, by Alfred R. Gaul, just published by Novello, Ewer, and Company, and dedicated by the composer to the musical societies and Church choirs of the United States of America. The composer, who is also his own librettist, has taken the parable of "The Ten Virgins," with reflective passages from other parts of the Bible interspersed, and has made a connected and interesting text. The greater part of the parable he has allotted to a narrator (baritone) in the third person ; but two sections — "Give us of your oil" and "Open to us" — are given to the female voices in the first person. Portions of Miss Winkworth's translation of "Sleepers, wake," and of Tennyson's "Late, late, so late," are used with great effect, and the old German chorale, "Sleepers, wake," has been employed in several numbers. Mr. Gaul has a special faculty of writing pleasing music, not too difficult for ordinary choruses, and there is no doubt that this new work will, as it deserves to, meet with wide acceptance and approval.

Four additional numbers of Novello's "Short Settings of the Office for the Holy Communion" have just been issued. No. 13 is by J. T. Field, in the key of F. The Creed is in unison, and the rest of the service in four-part harmony ; No. 14 is by the Rev. E. V. Dale, in the key of C. The whole service is so arranged that it may be sung either in unison or in harmony ; No. 15 is by F. Champneys, in G. This is entirely a monotone service, but to be sung in strict time and rhythm. The accompaniment is elaborate, and we should judge effective. This service contains an *O Salutaris*, with both Latin and English words. No. 16 is by C. Lee Williams, in G. Two Offertory sentences, and an *O Salutaris*, with English words only. This service is in four-part harmony throughout. All these services are good, and available for parish choirs, no one being very difficult.

Messrs. E. and J. B. Young and Company announce for publication this fall *The Choir Office-Book of the Daily and Occasional Offices, and the Order of Holy Communion of the Protestant Episcopal Church, as used in Trinity Church, New York*, edited by A. H. Messiter, organist of Trinity Parish. This office-book will contain the Canticles of the morning and evening prayer, and those for other occasions set to both Anglican and Gregorian music; the Choral Service, with plain song and Tallis' Responses; the Office of the Holy Eucharist in anthem music as well as a complete rendering of this office in plain song with organ harmonies; the Burial Service complete, with Anglican and Gregorian music; the Canticles as anthems in a few carefully selected and simple settings; and hymns for unison singing with varied accompaniments.

Novello's Series of Original Compositions for the organ has been increased by several important numbers. A Minuetto and a Postlude by George Calkin (Nos. 128 and 129) will prove attractive. B. Luard Selby's Nuptial March (No. 130) is a strong composition, and Six Short Pieces, by W. G. Wood (Nos. 131 and 132), occupying in performance from two to four minutes each, will be found very useful. Nos. 133 to 136 include a series of Twelve Monologues by Josef Rheinberger, each number containing three. These are very charming pieces, full of delightful melody and very useful. They are not difficult, and will make an acceptable addition to the organist's repertory.

Messrs. Boosey and Company (Wm. A. Pond and Company, American agents) publish very neat and inexpensive editions of the famous classics of the Church, comprising Jackson (of Exeter) in F, and E flat, Boyce and Arnold in A, King in F, Ebdon in C, Rogers in D, Gibbons in F, Aldrich in G, Nares in F, Childe in G, Barrow in F, and Cooke in G. These last seven are edited by Dr. Charles Steggall. These old classic services are still widely sung. The same firm also issues a number of short oratorios and cantatas at very low prices.

Mr. John White, whose work we have already taken occasion to commend, has a *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis* in the key of E, No. 57, in the *Parish Choir Book* (Novello, Ewer, and Company). Mr. White's qualities as a serious and earnest musician are well shown in this composition, which is well adapted to parish choirs of medium ability. The *Magnificat* has short solos for soprano and alto, but both are easy. This is a valuable addition to the music of the Church.

De Profundis, for solo, chorus, and orchestra, is a cantata setting of the 130th ("129") Psalm, by Josef Nesvera. It is printed with Latin

words only, and therefore is available only for the Roman Catholic Church. Were English words adapted to this composition, it might be made available for the Church service, as the music is good, and there are several numbers in the cantata which could serve as separate anthems.

Mr. Frank L. Sealy of Newark, N. J., has lately published a *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis* (G. Schirmer, N. Y.) which is a fine composition and worthy of production by a good choir, which, as well as a capable organist, is needed for its adequate performance. Mr. Sealy is both an organist and a choir-master, and knows how to make effective points for both singers and players.

NOTES.

Mr. J. J. Miller, organist and choir-master of Christ Church, Norfolk, Va., proposes to organize "The Church Choral Society" of Norfolk.

On Sunday, August 3, a vested choir of sixteen boys and ten men was introduced in S. Stephen's Church, Pittsfield, Mass. Walter H. Way is the choir-master, and Clarence Waugh the organist.

Trinity Church, Tacoma, Washington, has begun the experiment of a mixed male and female vested choir. It was installed on August 17 last. The boys and men are vested in the usual cotta and cassock, the women in a linen surplice and black cap after the pattern in use in S. Peter's Church, Brooklyn. Mr. W. T. Hill is the choir-master.

The Rev. John Anketell, A. M., author of *Gospel and Epistle Hymns*, has requested the Editor of this department to edit a musical edition. Composers of hymn tunes are therefore earnestly requested to send in their tunes as early as possible, as it is intended to use as far as possible the compositions of our home Church musicians. The Editor also requests the permission to make such selections as he finds advisable from copyright tunes already published.

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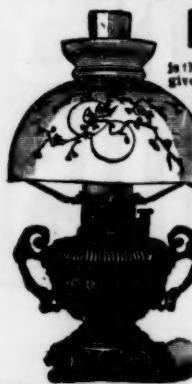
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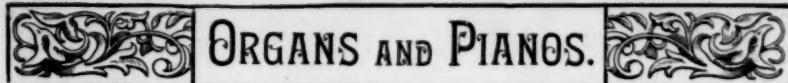
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SUMMARY OF THE FORTY-FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE New York Life Insurance Co.

WILLIAM H. BEERS, President.

BUSINESS OF 1889.

Premiums	\$24,585,921.10
Interest, Rents, etc.	4,577,345.14
Total Income	\$29,163,266.24
Death-Claims and Endowments	\$6,252,095.50
Dividends, Annuities, and Purchased Insurances	5,869,026.16
Total to Policy-holders	\$12,121,121.66
New Policies Issued	39,499
New Insurance Written	\$151,119,088.00

CONDITION JANUARY 1, 1890.

Assets	\$105,053,600.96
Divisible Surplus, Co's New Standard	7,517,823.28
Tontine Surplus	7,705,053.11
Liabilities, New York State Standard	88,761,058.57
Surplus by State Standard (4 per cent)	15,000,000.00
Policies in Force	150,381
Insurance in Force	\$495,601,970.00

PROGRESS IN 1889.

Increase in Interest	\$303,653.06
Increase in Benefits to Policy-holders	1,148,051.61
Increase in Surplus for Dividends	1,716,849.01
Increase in Premiums	3,458,330.35
Increase in Total Income	3,761,983.41
Increase in Assets	11,573,414.41
Increase in Insurance Written	26,099,357.00
Increase in Insurance in Force	75,715,465.00

RESULTS FOR FORTY-FIVE YEARS FROM 1845 TO 1890.

Total received from Policy-holders	\$223,526,284.49
Paid to Policy-holders and their representatives	\$129,344,058.87
Assets held as security for Policy-holders, January 1, 1890	105,053,600.96
Total amount paid Policy-holders and now held as security for their contracts	\$234,397,659.83
Amount paid and held exceeds amount received	\$10,871,375.34
<i>Interest and Rents exceed Death-losses paid</i>	<i>2,827,812.34</i>

These figures show a growth as marvellous as it has been continuous, and a present strength and volume of business that furnish the most ample guarantees to intending insurers.

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2. The New York Life was the first Company to recognise the policy-holder's right to paid-up insurance, in case of a discontinuance of premiums, by *originating and introducing, in 1860, the first non-forfeiture policy*, — the beginning of the modern non-forfeiture system, which has become a part of the insurance statutes of the country. *On the present volume of business, the saving to policy-holders, by reason of the non-forfeiture principle, as originated and introduced by the New York Life, is about eight million dollars per year.*
3. The New York Life issues a greater variety of policies than any other life company, thereby adapting its contracts to the largest number of people. It has lately perfected a Mortuary-Dividend system, under which many of its policies are issued with *guaranteed return of all premiums paid, in addition to the face of the policy, in case of death during a specified period.*
4. The returns on the New York Life's *Tontine Policies* have been unsurpassed by those of any other company, comparison being made between policies taken at same age and premium rate, and running through the same period of time.
5. The policies of the New York Life, as now issued, are notably free from restrictions as to occupation, residence, and travel, and claims are paid upon receipt and approval by the Company of satisfactory proofs of death.

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